Understanding localness of built form at the urban scale: investigating *Maqamiat* in the case of Karachi, Pakistan

Suneela Ahmed (2016)

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Understanding localness of built form at the urban scale: investigating Maqamiyat in the case of Karachi, Pakistan
Suneela Ahmed

A thesis submitted in partial fulfilment of the requirements of Oxford Brookes University for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy
January 2016
Abstract

Understanding localness of built form at the urban scale: investigating Maqamiat in the case of Karachi, Pakistan
Suneela Ahmed

Many cities in the developing world aspire to imitate cities of the West in their built form, since for them this represents ‘modernism’ and the future. Pakistan is a young country and the contribution of a new generation of architects and planners has been inspired by the west, in the post-modern traditions, and not informed by the local cultural, social and physical aspects of the society. Karachi, within Pakistan, has recently seen the construction of a number of buildings and urban design projects that conform to the international concepts of entrepreneurship and innovation, and are a response to the desire of politicians to create a global image for the city.

Using the Urdu word *maqamiat* in relation to the built form, this research assesses what it means for a city to be local in the context of Karachi, being specific, having particular variables impacting the built form, but dealing with similar issues of identity crises as other formally colonized nations. A combination of deductive and inductive research approach that arches over mixed methods is used, in order to reveal the nature and value of *maqamiat* of built form. Semi structured interviews, focus groups, urban morphological documentation, archive review and personal observation methods have been used for data collecting. Content, narrative and focus group analyses are used to interpret data.

The major conclusions point towards the meaning of space, as perceived by communities, is not always bound by physical form. The social attachment and usage of certain types of local spaces cannot be translated, either physically or linguistically, into other languages, and through the influence of foreign imported design language, significant aspect of *maqamiat* is lost in newer developments. The research postulates lessons from its study of local processes of built form production, the value given to local places by indigenous communities and the impact of global forces through imageability, aesthetics and style. The research identifies that urban anthropologists are better positioned to understand and explain *maqamiat* because of their cross-disciplinary approach to analysing the society, as compared to urban theorists. The research also identifies unique urban morphologies within the context, which point towards the requirement to develop research and literature related to the local and global interactions and the emerging built form typologies. The research findings can feed into the design profession through policy aimed towards ‘responsive’ urban design.
Dedication

I dedicate this research to the memory of my father and brother, to the unconditional support of my husband and to the love of my mother and children.
Acknowledgments

This research was initiated, and eventually completed because of the financial support from the Department of Architecture and Planning, NED University Karachi. I am indebted to Prof. Dr. Noman Ahmed at this Department, for making it possible for me personally and for encouraging colleagues to pursue personal and professional development and for always providing unconditional support.

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List of Acronyms

- ARCASIA- Architects Regional Council of ASIA
- ANP- Awami National Party
- CDGK-City District Government Karachi
- CDGK-MPGO- City District Government Karachi Master Plan Group of Officers
- CNG- Compressed Natural Gas
- DAP- Department of Architecture and Planning
- DCO- District Central Officer
- DHA- Defense Housing Authority
- EDO- Executive District Officer
- FC- Federal Capital
- FAR- Floor Area Ratios
- GKP-Greater Karachi Plan
- GKRPH-R Greater Karachi Resettlement Housing Program
- IAP- Institute of Architects Pakistan
- ISD- Informal sub-division
- KBCA- Karachi Building and Control Authority
- KBTP- Karachi Building and Town Planning
- KDA-Karachi Development Authority
- KDP 2000-Karachi Development Plan
- KMC-Karachi Municipal Cooperation
- KMP- Karachi Master Plan
- KPK- Khyber Pathunkhawa
- KPT- Karachi Port Trust
- KSDP 2020- Karachi Strategic Plan 2020
- LDA-Lyari Development Authority
- MDA-Malir Development Authority
- MQM- Muhajir Quomi Movement
- NCA- National College of Arts
- NOC- No Objection Certificate
- PPP- Pakistan People’s Party
• PWD- Pakistan Works Department
• SSGC-Sui Southern Gas Company
• UPSS-Uninterruptible Power Supply Systems
Glossary

Baghs- garden

Bandarwala- monkey shows

Bartangali- Utensils Street

Bazaar- market

Bhatta-bribes

Botal gali- Bottle Street

Bunder road- port road

Chabootra- platform

Chattris- over hangs

Chowk- junction

Chowrangi- round about

Dada-grandfather

Dallal- middleman

Dallan- courtyard

Dubbo-snooker

Ghar- house

Jagha- place

Jali- screen

Jafri- screen

Jamaat Khana- A mosque for the Aga Khani sect

Gizri Stone- Sandstone

Kapra gali- clothes street

Kitabgali- Book Street

Kharak Bandar- the port of Kharak

Jumma bazaar- Friday market
Kharadar- salt water gate
Kolachi Jo Goth- The village of Karachi
Koocha- back lane

Langarkhana- A place where free food is distributed
Maidaan- ground

Maiwahgali- dry fruits street
Maqamiet- localness
Masala gali- spice street
Masjid- mosque
Mazaar- mausoleum

Meethadar- sweet water gate
Mohallahs- neighbourhoods

Mushkis- leather bags containing water carried on donkey carts or on the back of people

Niyaz-offering food in the name of Said

Pardah- veil/ segregation

Sehans- courts

Tatties- screens made of sweet smelling grass fitted to doors and windows

Thallawala-building component manufacturing yard
Chapter One

Introduction

The purpose of this thesis is to develop an understanding of localness at the urban scale and investigate maqamiat in the design of built form in Karachi, Pakistan. This thesis searches for ways to mediate local and global impacts on the built form to enhance maqamiat in contemporary Karachi.

The word maqamiat translates as ‘localness’ in Urdu- the mostly widely spoken language in Karachi, Pakistan. In the western world, we talk about place, place making and place identity, which are practices in the realm of urban design, but urban design as a profession, a practice and a scale of design intervention does not exist in its full format in Karachi, so concepts like place, place making and place identity do not have any meaning. Furthermore, the Urdu translation of ‘place’ (jagha) does not contains the notion of identity or spirit attached to it and has a physical connotation only, whereas the Urdu translation for localness, that is maqamiat, has a strong conceptual meaning attached to the idea of location as it connects to the concept of an individual’s identity and ethnicity.

Another initial objective of this thesis was to develop a working definition for maqamiat of built form, but over the course of the research, it was realized that defining maqamiat is an oversimplification of a complicated term, thus, a range of factors, parameters and concepts are discussed in Chapter Two, which help identify maqamiat. The conceptual framework developed in Chapter Two, based on the review of built form theories, has been used to research and analyse the concept of maqamiat in the two case study areas from Karachi in Chapters Five and Six. One of the objectives of Chapter Two was to review and analyse if the literature from the built form discipline covers all the aspects of maqamiat and help develop a conceptual framework, which can be applied on urban case studies from Karachi for analysing maqamiat.
This Chapter outlines the overall structure of the thesis, gives a background to the research and is organized into six sections.

1. The *Background* presents the reasons for selecting the topic and the research problem that the thesis focuses on.
2. The *Research Questions* formulate the main questions to guide the inquiry and to address the problem.
3. The overall *Aim and Objectives* declare the focus, interests and sequence of the investigation.
4. The *Relevance and Scope of the Research* explores the reasons why this research is important in the Pakistani context, and discusses its scope.
5. The *Research Strategy* summarizes the methodology undertaken for the research and the methodologies incorporated. This section also explains the process of inquiry and the stages of the methodology for achieving the objectives of the research.
6. The *Structure of the Thesis* briefly describes the chapters and presents a summary of each of the chapter.

### 1.1. Background

In any metropolitan city of the Indian sub-continent, built form is constructed through three types of decision-making process. It is either the politicians deciding what should be built, or the planners and urban designers, or the locals inhabiting the city. Generally, the built form that comes into existence through the three types of decision-making process varies in scale, aesthetics, typology and outlook. Politicians are generally concerned with avant-garde architecture, which represents a certain image of the city. Planners are engaged in decisions with respect to larger urban areas and try to respond to both the desires of the politicians and the requirements of the local communities. Some locals inhabiting the city make decisions regarding the built form that they own or interact with in their everyday lives. The practice of urban design in Karachi is non-existent. The profession of urban design is not represented by any statutory body.

The question then remains about how the decisions are taken, and what value systems are addressed in the context of competing views about what should be built. The theoretical
aspects of global influences and local aspirations become important. These aspects are sifted through local environmental, historical, technological and socio-economic influences.

A number of theories about global built form, regionalism, critical regionalism, place making, place affiliation, place identity and vernacular architecture inform the research. The perception amongst some theorists (King, 2004; Frampton, 1983; Ricoeur, 1983) is that cities in their aspiration to change and ‘modernize’ tend to lose their own identities and join the race for attaining a certain ‘global’ image. Is it acceptable to discard the old cultural past and take part in the “scientific, technical and political rationality” (Ricoeur, 1983) as not every city can absorb the traits of being a modernist city yet retain its old fabric. Thus, the question about what is local and \textit{maqamiat} in terms of built form arises. Some theorist believe that if a city wants to retain its localness and modernize at the same time, designers/ architects need to develop a means to use the traditional built form features at both architectural and urban design scale and incorporate them into modern day cities (Watson and Bentley, 2007).

There is debate about role of the designers in analysing and addressing the sense of identity in execution of urban form and building design (Watson and Bentley, 2007; Knox 2011). What is less researched and written about is ‘how’ professionals design buildings and urban spaces which address \textit{maqamiat} and yet belong to the modern world. Frampton’s essay ‘Critical Regionalism’ (1983) gives a theoretical background to this issue and starts to weave together a conceptual framework that potentially links \textit{maqamiat} to building design. According to him, the design of buildings should neither try to imitate the historical past, nor should they attempt to optimize advanced technologies. Rather, a path that takes inspiration from local tectonics, climate, topography, urban form and context should be followed. Other theorists have written on vernacular architecture and how it can be incorporated in modern day architecture (Asquith and Vellinga, 2006), but they do not necessarily address the concept of \textit{maqamiat} in relation to modern architecture. Their stress is more on the sustainable design principles of vernacular. Literature on theory and history of regionalist architecture in the context of globalization (Lefaivre and Tzonis, 2012) documents and analyses examples of built design from all over the world within a critical historical perspective, and points to critical regionalism as the possible direction which can weave together the otherwise antagonistic forces of regionalism and globalization within a new framework, but it does not necessarily identify built form elements that can help achieve \textit{maqamiat}. 

3
More recent literature (Davoudi and Madanipour, 2015; Hirt, 2012; Peterson, 2010; McMaster, 2004; Marston et al., 2005; Low and Lawrence, 2003) addresses the role of designers and architects in the design and development of newer localities within cities of the developing world. The indigenous spaces of the cities and the meaning people attach to them are not always valued in the newer developments, thus they are being lost. The interpretation of the meaning of space by the indigenous communities, which may not be bound by the physical notions (as the conclusions of this thesis highlight) is not realized by these professionals. Thus the question about the role of understanding the indigenous places and communities and the requirement of feeding the lessons learnt therein, into new developments within a city arises. The review of works of urban anthropologist (Sepea, and Pittb, 2014; Low, 2009; Marston et al, 2005; Holtzman, 2004; Sheppard and McMaster, 2003; Low and Lawrence, 2003) details the requirement to analyze places at diverse global and local scales, and to understand that the global models get incorporated in the local contexts, but, these spatial models are contextual rather than universal.

Karachi has recently seen the construction of a number of architecturally distinctive buildings that conform to the international concepts of entrepreneurship and innovation and are a response to a global image (Mumtaz, 1999). Karachi, a mega city of 15 million residents and the main sea port of Pakistan, has a rich collection of buildings and structures of varied architectural styles ranging from 20th century architecture to neo-classical buildings and classical British architecture. There is also the presence of Indo-Gothic buildings, Neo-Renaissance and Hindu Architecture (Ahmed, 2010). A new generation of architects and planners, mostly trained in the Western institutions of planning and design, has been engaged with the recent building activity in the city. Their contribution in the cityscape has been the introduction of some form of ornamentation and cladding on the building facades and designing urban spaces in the post-modern traditions (Mumtaz, 1999). These built forms do not use the architectural and urban design elements existing previously in the city, and are not the best climatic or responsive solutions.

Thus, the need for this research, which is to investigate the possibility of identifying maqamiat of built form through developing a conceptual framework that weaves together various ideas, concepts and parameters. The central hypothesis is, are places having localness more connected to the users’ experience of the morphological context. This research applies the conceptual framework on two case study areas within the city of Karachi and puts
forward urban design recommendations for the design of built form. These recommendations can be adopted to design spaces based on an analysis of the value given to built form by local communities. This is the first time in the context of Karachi that any effort has been made towards building a theoretical framework that links up *maqamiat* to built design within the context of different design agendas in Karachi.

1.2. Research Questions

The main research question, derived from the previous problem definition is: *How can local and global impacts on the built form be mediated to enhance maqamiat (localness) in contemporary Karachi?*

The following questions have guided the research design:

**Defining maqamiat:**
1. What is *maqamiat* of built form and is it important?

**Theoretical review:**
2. Theories that help in explaining *maqamiat* in built form
3. What indicators can be spelled out to define *maqamiat* in the built form?
4. What urban morphologies and design qualities symbolize *maqamiat* in the built form?

**Decision making about built form:**
5. What role do urban actors play in achieving *maqamiat* in the built form?

**Analysing maqamiat in Karachi:**
6. What conceptual framework can help identify *maqamiat* of built form in the context of Karachi?
7. Is *maqamiat* of built form important in Karachi, if so to whom and why?
8. What design values influence decisions taken in the construction of built form in the contemporary context of Karachi and how do these decisions address the concept of *maqamiat*?
9. What scale serves as the optimal scale for analysing *maqamiat* in Karachi?
10. What lessons can be drawn from the local practice that can inform the decision-making process to identify *maqamiat* of built form in Karachi?

11. What type of urban design principles and guidance might be required for turning building and urban design to have *maqamiat* in the context of Karachi?

### 1.3. Aim and Objectives

In order to explore these themes, the overall aim of the thesis is to develop a method to investigate *maqamiat* in the design of built form, in the context of Karachi. The specific objectives of the research are as follows:

1. To define a set of factors, parameters and concepts that can be used to identify *maqamiat* of built form, through a review of relevant literature.
2. To identify and define the morphological components that contributes to *maqamiat*.
3. To develop a set of criteria and an evaluative framework that can be used for explaining *maqamiat* in the built form of Karachi.
4. To apply the framework on urban case studies from within the city, to explain the role of *maqamiat* in the process and design of built form.
5. To put forward theoretical and urban design recommendations that can be adopted to make built form locally responsive in the context of Karachi.

### 1.4. Relevance and Scope of the Research

The exploration of design parameters and vocabulary that reflects Karachi’s identity, culture and historical background can be used as consolidated grounds on which to build future ideas and design principles. The intention is to generate a body of reference material for future that can be used for input to teaching, research and practice. It is anticipated that practicing architects, students and academics will benefit from this research study. The research findings will also be useful for statutory bodies of Architecture and Planning, like the Institute of Architect and Planners Pakistan and the Pakistan Council of Architects and Town Planners in forming a theoretical basis for the profession, which at present is very vague. This is the first time in Karachi that an effort towards building a critical theoretical basis for analysing the evolution of the city’s architecture is attempted at. The national data that exists in terms of books, journal articles and seminar proceedings factually documents the historical evolution of the architecture and urban planning of the country but does not attempt to form a
theoretical basis for the morphological evolution of the urban form. Any analysis of the built form that does exist is done in an isolated manner where only a certain building or project is analysed. Some of the information about the recent institutional buildings in the city is available in the form of design briefs, developed by architects and government officials, seminar proceedings or in local journal articles critically evaluating the built form. The maps (architectural drawings in the form of plans, sections, elevations) of individual buildings and some photographic documentation are available from the archives of local government libraries like the Karachi Municipal Cooperation (KMC) and City District Government Karachi (CDGK) libraries. The available data is scattered and has not been catalogued or developed by any institution as bibliographic referencing material, in an organized manner, yet.

Thus the contribution to knowledge is:

1. The development of a methodology that will be useful for the analysis and proposal of the urban design principles that can be used to incorporate maqamiat in the design of built form through a case study methodology.

2. Contribution towards the generation of knowledge, ideas and literature for architecture, urban planning and design on Karachi, to better explain maqamiat, which can be used for teaching and research. The knowledge generated through this research can also feed into the design profession through policy guidance.

1.5. Research Strategy

Bryman (2008) suggests that the distinction between deductive and inductive research is not easy to define and although one is termed as a ‘bottom up approach’ whilst the other is termed as a ‘top down approach’, research methods may overlap between the two types of methods to produce data. An inductive approach starts with specific observations and moves towards broader generalizations and theories, whereas a deductive approach starts with general theories and hypotheses and moves towards specific conclusions. This research starts with a deductive approach where in Chapter Two variables, concepts and parameters are outlined to explain maqamiat of built form, which in turn are used to develop conceptual and evaluative frameworks. These frameworks are used to explain the city of Karachi in terms of maqamiat of built form and to look for maqamiat in case studies in Chapters Five and Six.
using the research methodology developed through the inductive research, and arrive at conclusions, which are transferable.

Theories concerned with global cities, critical regionalism, critical vernacularism, place, place identity and place affiliation as highlighted in Chapter Two extend into cultural studies, and explain the relation between urban form and global impacts (Watson and Bentley, 2007; Frampton, 1983). These theories are useful in explaining the relationship of the local and the regional to the national, transnational, and global aspects of the built form, as they explore both the tangible and intangible aspects of built form.

A combination of deductive and inductive research approaches, which use mixed methods for collecting data, has been used. A combined research methodology is used to explain *maqamiat* of built form, based on the key concepts outlined in the conceptual framework. These key concepts are:

1. To describe the decision-making processes, the key actors involved, their perspective and the level of influence they have over these processes;
2. To define the morphological dimensions of *maqamiat* in built form; followed by a discussion of the methods used for this, and
3. To describe the intangible dimensions of *maqamiat* in built form; followed by a discussion of the methods used for this.

The first part of the literature review consists of a theoretical overview, which helps identify the variables, concepts, and parameters that facilitate the explanation of *maqamiat*. This part includes the identification and definition of the morphological scales and intangible dimensions that contribute towards *maqamiat*. The major theorists from the built form discipline fall into three categories. The first set of theories highlight that globalness of cities (cities where impact of globalization is felt) (Robinson, 2009) is a determinant of the local assemblage of various aspects (infrastructure, universities, hospitals) and that built form depends on local distinctiveness of cities (Jencks, 2007; Sassen, 2007, 2001, 1991; Vale, 1992). The second set of theories emphasizes place distinctiveness and explains *maqamiat* of built form beyond the scale of the building. These are theories of place making (Knox, 2011; Unwin, 2009; Watson and Bentley, 2007; Alexander, 1977; Lynch, 1972, 1960; Jacobs, 1961), place identity (Relph, 1987 and 1976), regionalism (King, 2004; Abel, 2000) place affiliation and place attachment (Lewicka, 2013; Manzo, 2005; Altman and Low, 1992),

A fourth set of theories is also reviewed (Sepea, and Pittb, 2014; Low, 2009; Marston et.al, 2005; Holtzman, 2004; Sheppard and McMaster, 2003; Low and Lawrence, 2003). These theorists are from the discipline of anthropology. These theorists discuss the development of an analysis of the urban space at different scales, and point towards the fact that local should not simply be labelled as the opposite of global. These theories also point towards the relationship between the language used to describe, perceive and conceive urban spaces by professionals and the eventual physical design of these spaces. These theorists from the anthropological discipline, support the research findings and explore the dimension missing from the review of the built form theory, that is the meaning people associate with the built form.

A review and analysis of the vernacular design elements within the regional context of Karachi, along with documentation and analysis of the historical context of Karachi to explain the evolution of urban form, has been included. Some books on Karachi were readily available. These books document the historical and urban planning evolution of the city, with parts written on the architecture of the metropolis. This literature is descriptive and does not critically examine or link the evolution of the architectural morphology with the political, social and contextual events. This literature served as a starting point for the research and was further built upon.

Next, a conceptual framework was developed based on the literature review carried out. The scope of enquiry was to focus on 1) developing a relationship between the factors, concepts and parameters of *maqamiat* and urban components, and 2) tying in the decision making process and various scales to the factors, concepts and parameters of *maqamiat* identified in the literature review. The conceptual framework developed the relationship between various paradigms and sets of values, physical components of the built form and design processes involved.
Next a list of architects, planners and other stakeholders (local authority officers, residents, politicians) representing the production of the built form in Karachi was drawn up. The architects, planners, builders, economists and academia were interviewed to understand the decision making process and the value of *maqamiat* related to the built form at the level of the city. Residents and shop owners from the identified case study areas were interviewed to understand the association with the built form and the value of *maqamiat* at the scale of the neighbourhood. Two neighbourhoods were shortlisted as case studies from within Karachi 1) the historic area 2) the contemporary area.

A study and analysis of urban morphology, typology, historic maps, photographs and master plans was used to analyze the built form for response to *maqamiat* in the case study area. Structured interviews of architects/designers, key government actors, residents and politicians, who have contributed to the development of built form within the case study areas, were also conducted. Roles of key actors of different agencies in terms of management, control, use of the urban built form, stakeholder interests, influences and perceptions, were identified through conducting semi-structured interviews of local authorities, politicians, developers and key decision makers.

Once all the interviews had been conducted, they were transcribed and the results were analysed through NVIVO software. The conceptual framework guided the analysis of the case study area. Urban morphology using urban tissue (Krofp, 2009, 2011; Whitehand and Conzen, 1981) and typology methods were used for this analysis. Historic and old plans, photographs, master plans of the city and topographical surveys were used to analyze how the urban fabric of the case study areas has changed over time. The case studies were documented and analysed to explain the stages in design, operation, and maintenance and connection to *maqamiat* of built form.

People living and working in the case study areas were contacted, and their feedback about the usage of the space was recorded through focus group discussions, and semi structured interviews. Emphasis was placed on explaining the relationship of the users of space and the built form and the value given, if any, to the *maqamiat* of the place.

Using the results of the analysis, the conceptual framework and analytical method were refined and preliminary theoretical propositions were developed which were applicable in the
context of Karachi. Moreover, conceptual design guidelines and policy recommendations appropriate to promote maqamiat in the context of Karachi were suggested.

The research findings and conceptual framework were presented to a group of architects, planners and academics from the city of Karachi and feedback taken, which is incorporated in Chapter Seven. The last phase of the research revolved around the compilation and finalization of the thesis, putting together the key findings and to critically review the theories initially looked at for their contribution to maqamiat, the preparation of the final thesis report and editing.

1.6. Structure of the Thesis

The thesis is organized into nine chapters, which respond to the research questions and fulfil the objectives of this research (Table 1.1). This section explains the role of each chapter within the general structure and summarizes the contents.

Chapter Two: Discussion of key theories for identifying maqamiat (localness):
Development of a conceptual framework

This Chapter provides an initial statement of what is maqamiat, followed by theoretical explorations. The notions of local, maqamiat, locally responsive and local distinctiveness are addressed. This Chapter provides a synthesis of the literature reviewed with respect to notions of maqamiat and establishes parameters and pointers for developing a conceptual framework. It identifies components of maqamiat within the built form that are operational, and implemented practically in a given context, within the theories. This Chapter also explains the theoretical basis of the way decisions are taken with respect to the built form and the value systems and the notions of maqamiat addressed therein. This Chapter addresses the theoretical aspect of urban morphologies and design qualities in relation to maqamiat of built form. Lastly, this Chapter develops a conceptual framework based on the different types of theoretical explorations that have been used to develop a design for the research along with a research methodology in the consecutive chapters.
In the literature review, it is concluded that the built form theories deal with some form of maqamiat. These are theories concerned with the global city, critical regionalism, place making, place identity, place affiliation and vernacular architecture. It is also argued maqamiat is addressed in these theories through connection to the built form via physical and social aspects of a place. In this Chapter various aspects that form a connection with the built form are addressed; urban morphological evolution, respect for natural resources, respect for social norms, local economy and local climate, local materials, technology and crafts in the building process. The theories derived from the built form discipline, however, have inadequacies for exploring in all its dimensions the experience of localness in a specific built context, firstly because the meaning of space for communities is not always bounded by the physical notions of place, and secondly, these theories being west centric over simplify the analysis of local by labelling it as the opposite of global.

In order to explain maqamiat, the different modes of production of the built form are reviewed. These take into consideration the various value systems that inform the way decisions are taken. Broadly speaking, as explained further in Chapter Two, these can be divided between the decisions taken by government officials and politicians which create the ‘Lived representational space’, the decisions taken by planners and designers- which creates the ‘Conceived space’ and the decisions taken by every day consumers which is the ‘Perceived space’ (Maugavin, 1999: 98). The decisions taken by these actors also impact on the scale at which the interventions happen in the built form. Thus, in order to identify maqamiat in the built form both the intangible and tangible aspects need to be considered. Temporal aspects, which are the changing nature of the built form also need to be taken into account.

The urban tissue is used for explaining the urban form production process. It embodies the idea of type, social process and temporal aspects at various urban scales. The urban tissue is a framework, as outlined by Kropf (2009) that describes the physical and historical characteristic of the built form incorporating temporal aspects.

Chapter Three: Research Methodology

This Chapter outlines the research methodology for the documentation and analysis of the case studies and the overall research process. An account of the research methods and tools is outlined in this Chapter with connections to the theoretical and conceptual frameworks. The type of data and resources required to answer the research questions identified in the previous
chapters, along with a research method is articulated which was used to collect and analyze the data. This Chapter also describes how the conceptual framework and key concepts of *maqamiat* in built form, established in the previous chapters are applied to the case studies in Chapters Five and Six.

**Chapter Four: Analysing maqamiat (localness) of built form in Karachi**

This Chapter aims to develop an explanation of the context of Karachi and to adopt the conceptual framework developed in Chapter Two for Karachi to describe *maqamiat* of built form. The conceptual framework is used to describe *maqamiat* of built form in Karachi.

This Chapter aims to answer the following questions:

1. How is form produced in the context of Karachi?
2. Is *maqamiat* of built form important in Karachi, if so to whom and in what ways?
3. What social factors illustrate the significance of *maqamiat* of built form in Karachi, and how?
4. How does the concept of *maqamiat* of built form fit with respect to the global and vernacular in Karachi’s context?
5. What urban scale is suitable for explaining *maqamiat* in Karachi?

Taking the aspects of *maqamiat* outlined in Chapter Two this Chapter is divided into five parts. The first part explains the power structure in Karachi and the contemporary production of built form with respect to scale and typology and views of what should be built. The first two questions outlined above ‘how form is produced in the context of Karachi’ and ‘is *maqamiat* of built form important in Karachi, if so to whom and in what ways?’ are addressed here. The next section of this Chapter evaluates the pre requisites defined within the built environment in the form of master plans prepared for the city and the Karachi Building and Town Planning Regulations, highlighting the urban scale that serves as the optimal scale for explaining *maqamiat* in Karachi and is used in these planning documents. Thus, this section answers question 5 above. The third section addresses the local tangibles in terms of materials, climate and urban morphology that are addressed in the design of the
built form within the city. In doing so, this section contributes to answering question 2 above. The fourth section explains the local social processes witnessed in the city and the aspects of migration and gentrification, which the city has experienced, and its linkage to maqamiat. In doing so, this section answers question 3 above. The last section of this Chapter analyses the contrasting variables to maqamiat in the context of Karachi and explain maqamiat with respect to global and vernacular forces, and in doing so it answers question 4 above.

Chapter Five: Case Study One: Kharadar and Meethadar within Old Town

The first case study chosen is a historic area of the city of Karachi dating from Pre-Colonial times, where Karachi originated as a fishing village in the 1800s. The objective of this case study is to assess if maqamiat exists and in what form it is present, how has it been built, destroyed and modified, and what qualities are related to it in modern urban life? The evidence gathered here is environmental, political, social and economic.

In order to explain and understand maqamiat of built form it is established in the preceding chapters that the following five factors need to be considered:

1. Power structure and the way decisions are taken with regards to the maqamiat of built form
2. The planning documents and policies that establish a certain direction for urban development.
3. The local tangibles like local material, local climate incorporated in the design of the built form.
4. Local intangibles incorporated in the design of the built form and the social processes linked to aspects of time.
5. Impact of variables of maqamiat like globalization and gentrification.

These five defining factors have been used as the structure of this Chapter linking up the research findings to the conceptual framework developed in Chapter Two. The Chapter describes and locates the case study area within the city in terms of its morphology and analyses the various parameters of maqamiat of built form as described above. Next, it evaluates if the concept of maqamiat of built form is useful for the urban context, if so how is it useful and how can it contribute to the development of the theories reviewed in Chapter Two.
Chapter Six: Case Study Two: Kehkashan Clifton

The second case study area of Kehkashan Clifton is located in the south of Karachi, on the Arabian Sea. The objective of this case study is to understand how *maqamiat* is seen and valued by people from different occupations. This case study area differs from the first case study in the following ways:

1. It was originated by the Colonialists as a suburban development for the British, as the sea was believed to have healing powers.
2. Since its inception, it has remained an area where the elite of the city dwell, with pockets of unplanned development housing the poor.
3. Recently the locality has experienced major developments in terms of high-rise buildings and infrastructure by private builders, having an aesthetic language, which responds to global demands.

The reason for choosing this case study area was to further explain the co-existence of the Old Clifton (developed during British rule), the areas housing the landmark structures like the Shrine and the temple (belonging to the 18th century), the presence of the beach, which caters to the entire city, and the contemporary residential areas of Kehkashan Clifton. The objective was to recognize the built form that has been retained over time as being local (through a study of the historical maps of the area), and the built form that responds to global pressures. The associations with the built form of different stakeholders of the locality were mapped through focus group discussions and qualitative interviews.

The Chapter has a similar structure as the preceding Chapter and the sub heads link to the aspects of *maqamiat* outlined in Chapter Two.
Chapter Seven: Evaluating the Field Work

This Chapter evaluates the structure of analysis of the case studies and analytically reviews the questions asked in the field, the feedback received and the research methods used. The objective was to evaluate the fieldwork and review the appropriateness of the method used. Furthermore, this Chapter evaluated and interpreted the fieldwork in terms of the literature reviewed in Chapter Two, thus triangulating the data.

This Chapter answers the following questions:

1. Is the concept of maqamiat of built form useful?
2. In Karachi, what is maqamiat of built form?
3. What are the tangible and intangible aspects of maqamiat in Karachi?
4. Is a development framework required that is appropriate to deliver locally informed built form in Karachi, if so what type what be appropriate?

The Chapter is divided into four sections. The first section reviews and analyses the structure of analysis of the case studies, the questions asked in the field, the feedback received and the research methodology used for collecting data in the field.

The next section, critically reviews the concepts of localness developed in Chapter Two with respect to the case studies. This Chapter discusses whether the propositions with regards to maqamiat are applicable in other contexts or not.

The next two sections describe the workshop method and set out to evaluate the knowledge contribution of the workshop. These sections link up the feedback received to the conceptual framework developed in Chapter Two, to the contribution that can be made to the literature and to the development of a framework that would be appropriate to deliver locally informed built form in the case of Karachi. Thus, the objective of these sections is to move from analysis to feedback and recommendations.

The last section reflects on the use of language in the course of the discussion during the workshop and the semi-structured interviews, to describe spaces within the case studies and the city in general. The objective is to identify words that are used to describe maqamiat and ask if those words are translatable into English, and the way local residents, architects and planners think about the vernacular analysis of space and buildings.
Chapter Eight: Key Findings

This Chapter summarises the key findings and revisits the contribution of the theories reviewed in Chapter Two, from the built form discipline. This Chapter also highlights the missing dimensions of these theories and presents a revised theoretical framework towards the end which helps in an understanding of *maqamiat* in specific contexts.

The major findings from the research point towards the fact that meaning of space, as perceived by communities, is not bound to physical form only, and is at times socially driven; and secondly because certain urban forms and types are untranslatable into a language that has no words for them (predominantly English), and, because of the influence of imported design language, these spaces are often lost in newer developments. These local spaces are not valued by professional architects and planners trained in western institutions and involved with new urban developments, as there is a significant disjunction between western architectural ideologies (even though they may talk about the importance of the vernacular in informing locally relevant design) and local forms, as they are produced and experienced. Thus, the question reviewed here, is, whether it is possible to develop a planning language that includes these spaces, which represent the local built form and *maqamiat*. The literature reviewed here (Davoudi and Madanipour, 2015; Hirt, 2012; Peterson, 2010; Sheppard and McMaster, 2003; Marston et al., 2005; Low and Lawrence, 2003) reinforces these findings.

Chapter Nine: Conclusions

The purpose of this Chapter is to review the research process and identify its value, theoretical contribution and directions for future research. This concluding Chapter is organized in five sections. First, it summarizes the key findings by answering the research questions, which are linked to the research objectives. Second, this Chapter discusses the theoretical, methodological and empirical contributions to knowledge derived from the investigation process. Third, the research methodology is analysed by reviewing the research strategy, conceptual and evaluative frameworks, the methods for data collection and analysis, and the strategies used for answering the research questions. Fourth, this Chapter reviews the transferability of the research findings and recommends future directions for research. Lastly, a concluding statement for the research is added.
The structure of the thesis along with the research aim, objectives, research questions, approach and stages of research and allocation of Chapters is presented in Table 1.1.
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<thead>
<tr>
<th>Research Aim</th>
<th>Objectives</th>
<th>Approach and Stages of the research</th>
<th>Chapters</th>
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<tr>
<td><strong>Develop a methodology for explaining maqamiat (localness) of built form in the context of Karachi.</strong></td>
<td>MPhil Objectives</td>
<td>WHAT is the research about? <strong>Introduction:</strong> Research background, problems, aims and objectives, research strategy, research approaches</td>
<td><strong>Chapter One</strong></td>
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<td><strong>MPhil Objectives</strong></td>
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<tr>
<td>1. Develop a set of variables, concepts and parameters of <em>maqamiat</em> (localness) as it relates to built form through a review of relevant literature.</td>
<td></td>
<td><strong>WHAT is <em>maqamiat</em> (localness) of built form and HOW to explain it?</strong> <strong>Research Stage 1:</strong> Development of a theoretical review</td>
<td><strong>Chapter Two</strong></td>
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<td>2. Identify and define the morphological components that might contribute to <em>maqamiat</em>.</td>
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<td>• Review of theory relevant to <em>maqamiat</em> in built form (Critical Regionalism, place, place making and place identity and critical vernacular and vernacular)</td>
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<td>• Arrive at a set of factors, parameters, concepts related to <em>maqamiat</em> in built form</td>
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<td>• Identification of components that contribute to <em>maqamiat</em> in built form</td>
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<td>• A preliminary conceptual framework for defining maqamiat (localness) in built form is drawn up</td>
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<td>3. Develop a set of criteria and evaluative framework that can be used for explaining <em>maqamiat</em> in the built form of Karachi.</td>
<td><strong>HOW does built form come about? WHO decides? WHAT form do built structures take? WHAT role does <em>maqamiat</em> of built form play?</strong> <strong>Research Stage 2:</strong> Development of explaining of how form is produced in the context of Karachi and identification of elements of <em>maqamiat</em> in the built form of Karachi Identification of the role of <em>maqamiat</em> as a process in the production of built form</td>
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<td><strong>HOW to explain <em>maqamiat</em> of built form?</strong> <strong>Research Stage 3:</strong> Development of research methods informed by key concepts A qualitative method approach to the analysis of <em>maqamiat</em> Definition of key actor groups and outlining of qualitative semi structured interviews.</td>
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<td><strong>Chapter Three</strong></td>
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### PhD Objectives

4. Application of this framework onto urban case study areas from Karachi to.
5. To put forward theoretical and urban design recommendations for processes that can be adopted to make built form locally responsive in the context of Karachi.

### Research Stage 4:
Overall review of *maqamiat* in Karachi and Urban design case studies: 1) the historic area 2) contemporary area ensuring that the urban section within each of the case has public, private and domestic built form.

Analysis of two case studies

### Research Stage 5:
A critical evaluation of *maqamiat* in the two case study areas and a reflection on the structure of analysis.

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<td>Research Stage 4:</td>
<td>Overall review of <em>maqamiat</em> in Karachi and Urban design case studies: 1) the historic area 2) contemporary area ensuring that the urban section within each of the case has public, private and domestic built form.</td>
<td>Analysis of two case studies</td>
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**Table 1.1: The organization of the thesis**
Chapter Two

Discussion of key theories for identifying maqamiat (localness):
Development of a conceptual framework

2.1 Introduction

Following the statement of research problems and related issues in Chapter One, this Chapter gives a working definition of what is maqamiat (localness) followed by theoretical explorations. The notions of local, localness, locally responsive and local distinctiveness are initially addressed. The first objective of this Chapter is to provide a synthesis of the literature reviewed from the discipline of built form and to evaluate the usefulness of these theories in developing a conceptual framework to analyze maqamiat. In other words, the objective here is to test the theory derived from built environment disciplines for its adequateness for exploring in all its dimensions the experience of localness in a specific built context. The notions of localness have been reviewed to establish parameters and pointers for developing a conceptual framework and to identify components of localness within the built form that need to be applied, and implemented practically in a given context. The findings from this literature review are tied back to the concept of maqamiat in Karachi. The second objective of this Chapter is to understand the theoretical basis of the way decisions are taken with respect to the built form and the value systems and the notions of maqamiat addressed therein. The third objective is to review the theoretical aspect of urban morphologies and design qualities in relation to localness of built form. Here again, localness is taken as a concept and the findings from the literature review are tied to the notion of maqamiat in Section 2.7, which puts together a conceptual framework. Therefore, the last objective of this Chapter is to develop a conceptual framework, based on the different types of theoretical explorations that can be used to develop a design for the research. This conceptual framework is used to develop a research methodology in Chapter Three, which is then applied to case study areas from Karachi, in order to describe and analyze maqamiat of built form.
This Chapter tackles the following questions

1. What is *maqamiat* of built form?
2. Why is *maqamiat* in the built form important at the scale beyond that of the building, in the context of Karachi?
3. What aspects of theories help in analysing the *maqamiat* in the built form?
4. What indicators can be spelled out to understand *maqamiat* in the built form?
5. What role do urban actors play in achieving *maqamiat* in the built form?
6. What urban morphologies and design qualities help achieve *maqamiat* in the built form?
7. What conceptual framework can help analyze *maqamiat* of built form in the context of Karachi?

This Chapter has the following five divisions.

1. The first section develops an initial statement of what is *maqamiat*, distinguishing between notions of local, localness and locally responsive and local distinctiveness to arrive at a working definition of *maqamiat*, which is used to develop the research. This section also addresses the question about why *maqamiat* of built form is important, and at what scale might it may be achieved, the neighbourhood scale or the scale of the city? This section is based on literature on global cities, where the local distinctiveness of the metropolis has been emphasized. These theories emphasize that globalness is a determinant of the local construct that global advantage of cities depends on local distinctiveness of cities. Local built form plays a prominent role in giving the cities a distinctive identity (Jencks, 2007; Sassen, 2007, 2001, 1991; Vale, 1992).

2. The second section reflects upon theories, which may be useful for explaining localness of built form beyond the scale of the building, from the built form discipline. The approach of each of the theories along with its internal consistency, scale and limitations with respect to localness of built form is addressed here. The indicators within each of the theories are pointed out, which help develop a connection with *maqamiat* of built form. Indicators refer to social, economic and environment based evidence that provides a benchmark for explaining *maqamiat* in built form, pointing the connection between tangible and intangible aspects of the built form. Theories on place identity and place (Knox, 2011; Unwin, 2009; Watson and Bentley, 2007; Relph, 1987; Alexander, 1977; Lynch, 1972, 1960; Jacobs, 1961)
are useful for analysing the concept of local, and in resolving the seeming contradictions between the global and the vernacular. The theories on place affiliation and place attachment (Lewicka, 2013; Manzo 2005; Altman and Low, 1992) deal mostly with the social and cultural attachment to a place. Critical regionalism (Tzonis and Lefaivre, 2012, 2003; Frampton, 1983; Ricoeur 1983) and regionalism (King, 2004; Abel, 2000) deal with the application of the concepts of local in the built form at the scale of an individual building. The built form that is produced as an application of the theories of regionalism and critical regionalism is criticized as lacking the ability to change and evolve with time. The theories on vernacular architecture (Asquith and Vellinga, 2006; Oliver, 1997) highlight the lessons that can be learnt from the vernacular built form and its appropriateness for modern buildings. These theories are helpful in providing an analysis of the priorities given to different design approaches and in identifying the physical attribute (morphological scale) which are available to be experiences and have meaning for users, but they don’t really discuss the meaning of the built form.

3. The third section addresses the theoretical position of different urban actors and their roles and interests in maqamiat of built form. The question addressed here is how are decisions taken in a context of competing views about what should be built?

4. The fourth section discusses urban morphologies and design qualities in relation to maqamiat.

5. The last section links together the indicators highlighted in the literature review to the theoretical position of different urban actors. This in turn is linked to the way decisions about urban morphologies and design qualities are taken, in order to arrive at a conceptual framework, which is used to analyze case study areas in Chapters Five and Six.

**2.2. Defining maqamiat (Localness)**

The literal translation of maqamiat in English is localness. Maqamiat, however, relates to the relationship with a place in terms of identity and ethnicity. A person’s maqamiat states the locality and the ethnicity he or she belongs to. Thus, the social aspect of the relationship with a physical place is inherent in its definition, which is not there in the Urdu translation for place (jagha), which has a physical connotation only
The Merriam-Webster dictionary defines localness as ‘the quality or state of being local’ and local as ‘of, relating to or characteristic of a particular place’ (Merriam-Webster dictionary: 2013). The Oxford Dictionary defines local as ‘relating or restricted to a particular area’ and ‘localness’ is mentioned as an adjective derived from ‘local’ (Oxford Dictionary, 2013). These definitions are not adequate for the purpose of this research. In this research localness is both a fact and value (economic, social or environmental), which is of potential, and helps in analysing the nature of built form at different scales, along with the social, historical and economic reasons for its being, and having meaning for different stakeholders.

A fact is that which is indisputable and is defined as something, which has really happened, or is actually the case. The usual test for a fact is whether it is verifiable, that is, whether it can be demonstrated to correspond to experience. Value is defined as the importance, worth or usefulness of something in terms of monetary, social, aesthetic or environmental value. Values may vary according to perceptions and other variables, whereas facts are fixed. Thus, localness is seen as a fact that may have economic, social or environmental value making the built form in a place appropriate or inappropriate for the users.

So in terms of value, built form which belongs to a certain time and place will be local, but may have appropriate localness or inappropriate localness as far as the users are concerned. However, the fact of localness is negotiable, as built form that has appropriate localness will respond to the parameters and indicators outlined in the conceptual framework, whereas built form, which does not have appropriate localness will not respond to these parameters and indicators. The criteria for determining appropriateness is dependent on the economic, social or environmental value of the built form for the users.

Thus, for the purpose of this research maqamiat is roughly defined as an adjective describing social, aesthetic and environmental value and quality of built form that belongs to a particular place, in a particular time and for a particular people. The components of place, time and people are of equal importance.

‘Local’ is also an adjective used to describe something that belongs to a particular place and time, but the tangible aspects are more important than the intangible ones.

‘Local responsiveness’ is an adjective describing the task that the built form needs to be performing in order to connect to the local. According to the literature reviewed, built form largely refers to a building and does not extend beyond it. This literature mostly comes from
theories about vernacular architecture, (Asquith and Vellinga, 2006; Oliver, 1997) which highlight the lessons that can be learnt from the vernacular built form and its appropriateness for modern built form. The phrase ‘locally responsive’ refers to built form that responds to ‘local circumstances’ (Owen, 1998). The notion of locally responsive includes cultural, economic and environmental responsiveness in terms of values, materials, technology and imagery.

‘Local distinctiveness’ is a phrase which describes how localness can be created in the built form. The parameters that need to be addressed to create localness are described. According to Carmona (1993), these parameters are authenticity, adaptability, patina and particularity. The literature related to local distinctiveness of the built form mostly comes from anthropologists, urban conservationists, geographers, social scientists and psychologists (Hogan and Potter, 2014; Theodossopoulos, 2013; Mc. Clay, 2011; Lahiri, 2010; Hopkins, 2008; Hay, 2003; Jiven and Larkham, 2003: Ouf, 2001).

Thus, using the word *maqamiat* potentially involves such concepts as local, locally responsive and local distinctiveness in terms of the connection of the built form with place and time, and the notions and parameters that can describe localness of built form. In order not to oversimplify localness through encapsulating it into a brief definition a range of phenomena have been addressed in the following sections, which contribute to the analysis and explanation of *maqamiat*.

### 2.2.1. Tangible and intangible aspects of localness

The concept of global space and local place also is important, as localness can refer to an adapted version of global design for a specific locale. This is explained by Alsayyad:

“It is about the achievement of a new global-local nexus, about new and intricate relations between global space and local place. The global-local nexus is about the relation between globalizing and particularizing dynamics in the strategy of the global corporation, and the ‘local’ should be seen as a fluid and relational space, constituted only in and through its relation to the global….Indeed, the very celebration and recognition of ‘difference’ and ‘otherness’ may itself conceal more subtle and insidious relations of power…..”(Alsayyad, 2001:16 Cited in: Gupta and Ferguson ‘Beyond Culture’ pp. 6-23).
In this statement emphasis is placed on the particularity of a place, and the local being seen as a space which is ‘fluid’ and has a relation with the global.

Within the local-global structure of a city, where class, consumption and capitalism influence the way decisions are taken about the built form, aesthetic decisions are legitimized through a certain process. These aesthetic decisions are compromises between global influences and local technological, social and economic resources. The built form need not be a replica of a foreign image, rather in an age of globalization ‘there is an increasing demand for built environments that promise unique cultural experiences’ (Alsayyad, 2001:2). Thus the concept of localness is important as the global impacts go through a process of local influences like environment, economics and culture resulting in a hybrid form that is local for a certain time. There are influences of the vernacular built form of a certain context as well, but this adaptation also goes through a process of competing and sometimes complementary influences that again can be roughly grouped in terms of culture, economy and technology. These are not necessarily separate entities, but play a role in articulating the local. Figure 2.1 shows that vernacular and global influences on the built form are sifted through economic, technological and cultural realities of a context and result in the local built form.

![Figure 2.1: Vernacular and global influences are sifted through economic, technological and cultural realities of a context and result in the local built form](image)
Theoretically, while the ‘vernacular’ refers to a building technique and style in a certain point, ‘local’ refers to its reinterpreted application in the present time and context. ‘Local’ can be or refers to the updated application of traditional vernacular building techniques in the present day. It takes its cue from the vernacular, but is rooted in the present and responds to modern times. The local also adapts to global influences. Thus, the local may have two aspects and may be situated somewhere between the vernacular and the global as illustrated in Figure 2.1. The indigenous/ vernacular aspect, where the pace of development is slow, is of adaptive nature, with external influences being absorbed and created as part of a tradition. The global impacts on the other hand, shape the built form in a certain manner, being modified by the local culture, economy and technology.

The authors of traditional built form theories (Gallent and Robinson, 2012; Prasad, 2012; Asquith and Vellinga, 2006; Paul Oliver, 1997; Perera, 2010) suggest that ‘tradition allows us to recognize the lessons of history enrich our lives and offer our inheritance to the future. Local, regional and national traditions provide the opportunity for communities to retain their particularity with the advance of globalization’ (Adam and Hardy, 2008: xiii). The literature highlights the importance of the built form to connect to the local in order to retain its particularity. When built form connects to the local physical and intangible context it does not imply that is not progressive. On the contrary, what has been pointed out by vernacular built form theorists (Gallent and Robinson, 2012; Prasad, 2012; Asquith and Vellinga, 2006; Paul Oliver, 1997; Perera, 2010) is a phenomenon known as ‘glocalism’ where the built form learns lessons from the past and uses them with a modernized interpretation for contemporary built form design. What, however, remains to be seen is if the local built form can create this connection between the global and the vernacular, and if it can help resolve tensions between global and vernacular if recognized and interpreted appropriately in terms of sustainable design solutions and aesthetic considerations.
2.2.2. Localness and structures of power

The local cannot be seen in isolation from the global. In order to understand the local, structures of power are also vital to comprehend. It is important to see how the political and ideological power existing in a society, assigns a certain type of value system to the built form, or the objects within the built form, and how the decisions taken by the politicians are valued by people (this is looked at in further detail in section 2.5).

2.2.3. Typology and scale of built form and localness

According to Abel (2000) the scale and the function of the building is important for analysing localness of built form, because tradition cannot be reinterpreted and implemented in a modern form for all typologies of the built form. So the new city comprises some forms and building typologies which respond to the global image of the city (Figure 2.2a), while other forms and typologies retain the local form (Figure 2.2b) and still others are influenced and modified by the local economy, technology and culture and hybrid form is created (Figure 2.2c). For the sub-continent, in terms of its built form, there is an attempt at the reinterpretation of traditional architecture in a modern language. This is local building types, which have a defined function and a limited scale (Abel, 2000). The Aga Khan University Hospital in Karachi is an example towards this end (Figure 2.2c) and it has been cited by Abel (2000).
Figure 2.2a: Building projecting a global image of Karachi- MCB building completed in 2005, designed by ASA (pvt) Ltd

Figure 2.2b: Retention of local built form in Karachi: DJ Science College built in 1887
Abel (1994) also cites the example of El Wakil’s mosques (Figures 2.3 and 2.4) in Egypt. According to him, these mosques are examples of ‘transformation on the theme of mosque architecture responding to low density exposed urban context following tradition and exhibiting cross cultural merger’ (1994: 42). Abel further explains that these mosques have the possibility of developing a unique building type, capable of adaption to a specific place and program, which respond well to the local context. Thus, both scale and typology of built from responds to the particular context.
According to King (2004) and Naser and Volait (2010) theories of globalization are mostly concerned with ‘global culture’ and do not dwell upon the intersection between globalization and the built form. These authors point out that there is a requirement for a deeper analysis of this interaction, rather than plainly branding it as ‘architectural homogenization’ and the
creation of ‘non places’ (Naser and Volait, 2010: 170). The development of this deeper analysis is one of the objectives of this research.

In an age of globalization, foreign design concepts need to prove their functional and climatic appropriateness as local meaningful forms change under the new economic and social forces. The bigger question is how to translate universal and global concepts into locally meaningful practices. In an analysis of gated cities in Curitiba, (Brazil), Irazabal (2006: 74) highlights the ‘dialectical tensions between local and global architectural and urban design epistemologies in the city, expressed in the production of these specific types of architecture and urbanism, resulting in a hybrid modern/ post-modern built environment where global design traditions are temporally re-/dis-placed and spatially localized’.

The creation of hybrid built form because of the local and global interaction and the emerging typologies reveals something about the relationship between the local and global influences. King’s work (2004) is an attempt towards this end; he studies the evolution of the Colonial bungalow in the sub-continent. This is relevant to this research and forms the basis for analysing the adaptation of influences of society, economics and environment into the built form and the introduction of a new building typology having new meanings. King’s work however, is restricted to the evolution of the bungalow and does not examine urban morphological development.

It can be inferred here that an analysis of the physical evolution of the built form, in terms of scale and typology can help identify the social changes in a society and the meaning associated with the built form.

2.2.4. Variables of localness

Globalization and vernacular are two variables that may affect localness. Both these phenomena need to be understood and the role they play in shaping the built form and thus their relationship with time and social processes need to be decoded. Marston, et.al (2005: 419) quotes Massey (2004):

“local places are not simply always the victim of global; nor are they always politically defensible redoubts against the global. For places are also the moment through which global is constituted, invented, coordinated, produced. They are ‘agents’ in globalization’. 
The hierarchy of scale that defines the relationship between local and global, impacts upon the built form. Some of the terms that have been used by Marston et.al (2005: 421) to define the conflated relationship between local and global are put together in Table 2.1.

<table>
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<th>Local</th>
<th>Global</th>
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<tr>
<td>Place</td>
<td>Space</td>
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<td>Authentic</td>
<td>Produced</td>
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<td>Defensive</td>
<td>Open</td>
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<td>Nostalgic</td>
<td>Developmental</td>
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<td>Culture</td>
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<td>Embodied</td>
<td>Anonymous</td>
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<td>Transformed</td>
<td>Penetrating</td>
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<tr>
<td>Responsible</td>
<td>Detached</td>
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*Table 2.1: ‘A list of conflated binaries’ (adapted from Marston et.al (2005: 421))*

In highlighting these ‘binaries’ Marston et.al (2005) point out that everyday interactions between different social actors is overlooked in this relationship, which can be identified at the daily small sphere of the local, if the scale of analysis is horizontal rather than vertical. Horizontality provides more ‘entry points’, is multi-directional and overcomes the ‘structural constraints’ of the vertical model (Marston et.al, 2005: 427). The scale at which localness makes itself evident is also important to describe. For example, if the fact and value of localness is an intrinsic part of the various master plans and zoning byelaws, then it will be reflected at various scales within the built form.

### 2.3. Why is localness of built form seen to be increasingly important in cities today?

The literature on global cities (Jencks, 2007; Park et.al, 2007; Sassen, 2001; Vale 1992) generally agree that the growth in the service based economy of cities today ‘stimulates the local service sector by raising the share of metropolitan income spent on local restaurants, entertainment and universities’ (Persky and Wiewel, 1994:132). The central hypothesis is that most economies of large urban areas are locally oriented and are dependent on local activity. The global and local city have been termed as complementary phenomenon with the global
city today increasingly dependent on the local aspects (like infrastructure, security, education) with both the global and local aspects being interdependent. The literature also points towards the difference between producer and consumer services that the cities create, and the requirement of the consumer services, like education and health, being a priority. Thus, as the globalness of the city grows with more health, education, entertainment and service based industries being set up, its localness also grows with ‘higher percentage of economic activity in the metropolis’ serving the local market (Persky and Wiewel, 1994: 132).

The global advantage of the city is supported by localness of the built form, because by retaining localness cities retain some part of their identity and attract global tourism. Furthermore, the built form may reflect aspirations of a global image, but house local functions, thus the way built form is interpreted needs to consider this dichotomy. The local cannot be seen in isolation from the global, or the various tangible and intangible influences on the built form.

Localness has the following main aspects:

- Firstly, localness links to the way decisions are taken about what built form should be constructed. The perception of users varies with their interests and is expressed in various forms. The local society, economy and culture plays a vital part in the way built form is shaped.
- The second attribute of localness is the scale of intervention in the physical environment, and the pre-requisites in the form of regulations, byelaws and master plans.
- Thirdly, the way local tangibles like local material, local climate are incorporated in the design of the built form impacts upon localness.
- Fourthly, social phenomena and processes, like migration and gentrification, where changes in population and user groups takes place, have an impact upon localness because certain groups of a population bring with them specific built form requirements and tastes.
- The last attribute has to do with variables of localness: vernacular and globalness, and how they shape the built form operating under any ambit of regulation or as a standalone challenge.
Having broadly spelled out what localness of built form refers to, the value of this research lies in two aspects: firstly showing why localness in built form is important at the scale beyond that of buildings and secondly how one recognizes localness in built form in a context of competing and at times contradictory views of what should be built.

2.4. Useful theories for understanding maqamiat (localness) of built form

The theories reviewed in this Chapter from the built form discipline can be divided into three types of theoretical thrusts. One set of theories deals with iconic architecture, global cities (Kusno, 2010; Zukin, 2008; Jencks, 2007; Al Sayyad, 2001; Sassen, 2001; Vale, 1992) and a global image for the built form. Another set of theories demonstrates the necessity to hold on to the traditional and vernacular building traditions as a source of rootedness and identity for the built form (Adam and Hardy, 2008; Poppi, 2008). Yet another set of theories points out the amalgamation of the lessons learnt from traditional and vernacular building traditions into a globalized paradigm, where the produced built form has respect for the traditional, yet is modern in its outlook (Shadar, 2010; Lefaivre and Tzonis, 2004, 2003; Abel, 2000, 1997, 1994, 1986; Frampton, 1997, 1983).

Of all these theories reviewed, the theories which are useful for explaining localness of the built form are those concerning global cities, vernacular built form, critical regionalism, place, place making and place attachment. All these theories contributed towards the development of the conceptual framework towards the end of the Chapter. Table 2.4 lists major theorists reviewed for each of these theories and Figure 2.2 maps the theories in a diagrammatic timeline showing that most of these theories originated early 1980s except for work of Jane Jacob’s (1961) on place making which was a reaction to the modernist movement in 1960s.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Theory</th>
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<td><strong>Global Cities</strong></td>
<td>Jencks, 2007</td>
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<td>Vale, 1992</td>
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<td><strong>Vernacular architecture</strong></td>
<td>Gallent and Robinson, 2012</td>
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<td>Prasad, 2012</td>
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<td>Asquith and Vellinga, 2006</td>
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<td>Paul Oliver, 1997</td>
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<td>Amerlinck, 1995</td>
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<td><strong>Critical regionalism</strong></td>
<td>Tzonis and Lefaivre, 2012</td>
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<td>King, 2004</td>
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<td>Frampton, 1983; Ricouer 1983</td>
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<td><strong>Critical Vernacular</strong></td>
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<td><strong>Place Making</strong></td>
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<td>Watson and Bentley, 2007</td>
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<td>Lynch, 1972, 1960</td>
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<td>Alexander, 1968</td>
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<td>Jacobs, 1961</td>
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<td><strong>Place Identity</strong></td>
<td>Relph, 1976 and 1987</td>
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<td><strong>Place Affiliation</strong></td>
<td>Lewicka, 2013</td>
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<td>Manzo 2005</td>
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<td>Altman and Low 1992</td>
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*Table 2.2: Major theorists reviewed for each of theory*
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*Figure 2.5: A diagrammatic timeline mapping the origin of theories chronologically*

The indicators are highlighted from each of the theories reviewed that connect them to localness of built form. These indicators refer to social, economic or environment evidence that points towards localness in built form, highlighting the connection between tangible and intangible aspects of the built form in the next section. These are then used to highlight built form components beyond the scale of the building that connect to localness in the conceptual framework towards the end of this Chapter. Components literally mean ‘a part or element of a larger whole’ as defined by the Oxford Dictionary (Oxford dictionary, 2013). For this research, the word ‘component’ refers to those built form elements that define localness of built form.

### 2.4.1. Global city theory and localness of built form

Theorists of the global city are at times critical of the global imagery of the built form, especially in the Developing World context, because it only caters to the aspirations of the upper middle-income classes, and decisions marginalize the urban poor. Theories about global cities focus on iconic built form, with emphasis on the image of the city being portrayed through certain architectural projects, which are designed by renowned architects, and are often symbolized, by tall office buildings, museums and stadiums holding mega
events and making use of high technology and imported materials. The formalistic expression of this type of built form may not always be derived from within the local environment, but imported from a global context, thus this built form may lack connection to local reality and local aesthetics. Many of the iconic architecture projects are developed as regeneration projects where through the introduction of iconic buildings, a new social, cultural and economic life is injected into run down and degraded urban areas. Most of these iconic buildings are strategically placed in a context where they ‘attempt to recover from deindustrialization and urban blight. The paradigm case in recent years is Barcelona, where the Urban Regeneration plan of the 1980s and the opportunity of the 1992 Olympics stimulated substantial waterfront redevelopment and the construction of the iconic buildings all over the city’ (Sklair, 2005: 493). Thus, although the built form of such projects is not local, the local economy is one of the constituents. The intention is to create opportunity for local economies to be able to sustain and promote themselves and respond to the global impacts.

Some other aspects, which theories on global cities highlight, are the reflection of aspirations of a global image in a built form that houses a local function. Thus, the relation between the global space and the local place (as pointed out by Al Sayyad 2001) is important to explain along with the particularization of the built form through a celebration of the difference between the global and the local.

Some theorists on global cities also highlight the need for the retention of the urban vernacular (Chalana, 2010) to prevent the creation of non-places and to ease the competition between global and local spaces. Chalana (2010) explains that the economic and social requirements of the working classes should be accommodated in redevelopment projects because they contribute to the economy of the city and the country at large. He stresses that the historic and social value of urban informal settlements (as in the case of the Indian subcontinent) must also be addressed. Sassen (2012: 85-93) highlights that ‘localized forms’ within global cities is ‘what globalization is about’. She further explains that many of the economic aspects of a city are not mobile and are embedded in place. Thus the importance of recovering ‘place and production in analyses of the global economy’ helps explain the ‘multiplicity of economies and work cultures in which the global information economy is embedded’. Multiple localizations are seen within a global city, many of these ‘localizations are embedded in the demographic transition evident in such cities’. ‘Informalization’ is
pointed out as one such localization, both in terms of space and economics within a global city, which offers ‘goods and services at a lower cost and with great flexibility’.

2.4.2. Vernacular theory and localness of built form

The focus of theories of vernacular built form is the historic fabric of the city, which is mostly mixed use and low rise in its character. The formalistic expression of these buildings and spaces is rooted within the local environment, is the result of years of evolution and perfection, thus, it connects to the local sense of aesthetics. Built form, which is foreign at one time, but is adopted and integrated within the context over the years through a process of adaptation by local communities, also falls within this category, as eventually it is a familiar part of the local environment. Colonial built form is an example of this (King 1990, 2004). The hybrid form produced within Colonialism makes a connection between local materials and skills and imported aesthetics and technology. The formalistic expression of this type is seen in churches, cemeteries, clubs, racecourse grounds, golf course and beach promenades, and the production of bungalows in the South Asian context. The scale is not limited to the built form itself, but extends beyond, in the form of parks and beach promenades.

Other aspects of vernacular built form are the qualities of ecological and cultural diversity, reuse and recycling and participatory approach (Lawrence, 2006). Payne (2006) points out the use of knowledge about the vernacular for the design of appropriate and sustainable housing and settlements. According to him, the vernacular has many lessons to offer in terms of conceptions of space and systems of governance.

Theories about vernacular architecture points out the adaptation of the physical features of vernacular built form with a modern application. The emphasis in these theories is on adaptation to the physical and social features of the context, which in the view of the theorists point towards localness (Asquith and Vellinga, 2006; Oliver, 1997). Vernacular built form has also been termed by these theorists as the most authentic building form, as it stems from climatic and social requirements, addresses ‘traditional patterns of space use, construction, design and symbolism’ (Vellinga and Asquith, 2006:84), has been tried and tested over centuries and is often more sustainable than modern forms of building.
Vernacular built form theories connect with the first and third aspects of localness as defined in Section 2.3, that is sharing a set of values between the patron and the user and addressing local tangibles like materials and climate. It is thus appropriate to explore the vernacular built form patterns that can be identified in the regional context of Karachi to illustrate localness of built form. This exploration is also useful because two of the indicators that connect to localness of built form are adaptability and authenticity (discussed in Section 2.4.4.).

Vernacular built form has continued to exist in a given context over years, and is based on local socio-economic needs, local construction material, and local climate and reflects traditional pattern of space use and systems of governance without the involvement of professional architects. Some of the vernacular built form patterns that can be identified for Karachi range from both gridded to organic urban layouts, characterization of urban areas through definitive entrance portals, ground plus two morphology in dense areas and sprawling morphology in suburban areas, incorporation of different typologies of open to sky spaces both in the public and private realm, usage of materials like brick, stone, timber, steel girders, cement and corrugated iron for construction and mud, stucco, lime plaster and terracotta tiles for finishes. Walkways with columns, courtyard plans, concrete cemented screens for blocking the sun and letting the breeze through, shading devices like deep/recessed windows along with wind catchers and water bodies are some of the passive ventilation systems used in the vernacular architecture in the regional context of Karachi. These vernacular trends, along with the indicators of localness for Karachi have been put together in Table 2.3.
Table 2.9: Vernacular and morphological trends from the regional context of Karachi

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Indicators of localness of built form as highlighted via vernacular built form theories</th>
<th>Examples from regional context of Karachi</th>
<th>Vernacular and morphological trends</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>• Imported aesthetics and technology</td>
<td>Since the Mughals occupied existing towns, their contribution was more in the area of monumental architecture. The British however, created the imperial city within the Metropolitan limits of Karachi and used strict gridded geometry with big plot sub divisions and open spaces around the built forms to ensure healthy living standards.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• Monuments as landmarks</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• Gridded geometry</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• Urban layout responding to local climate with organic street patterns</td>
<td>The urban layout of old Karachi is organic- it has its origin in the 18th century. The organic urban layout helped keep the streets shaded during hot summer days and provided a sense of privacy. A similar layout is seen in Thatta (a historic town 63.8 miles from Karachi and the seat of Mughal power from 1592-1739 century). Both these urban areas have commercial and residential buildings and the mosque closely inter linked with a dense urban fabric (Lari; 1989) which is attributed to the fact that these are cities which grew over time and were not initiated as planned settlements or new towns by invaders.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• Provenance of built form</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>• Traditional patterns of space use</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fortification walls/ Entrance portals</td>
<td>Fortification walls marked with entrance portals or gateways have been used in the regional and urban context of Karachi to define neighbourhood boundaries (seen in Deybul, Al-Mansura, Thatta and old quarters of Karachi). These fortification walls were built of brick or stone depending on the available materials.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• Local materials and skills</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• Traditional patterns of space use</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• Construction design and symbolism</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• Conceptions of space and systems of governance</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Urban Built Form</td>
<td>The residential fabric of Indus Valley civilization is generally ground plus one introverted structures with windowless outer walls and the doors opening on the narrow lanes. The urban morphology of denser urban areas of old Karachi are ground plus two structures for joint families which according to Lari (1982: 30) are</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
• Conceptions of space and systems of governance

   good prototypes for urban living because it accommodates extended families on a single plot.

• Imported aesthetics and technology

   The urban vernacular belonging to the Colonial era has some examples of the bungalow type and walk up apartments- within a gated compound with communal open space on ground level for social activities of the residents. The bungalow typology introduced by the British (which according to King (1990) was based on the concept of separating the local servants from the Colonial masters of the house) was a ground plus one single-family home surrounded by landscape and enclosed by low height boundary walls.

Monumental Architecture

• Authentic built form

   Stupas, Temples and the Bath were the monumental structures of the Indus Valley Civilisation and Hindu and Buddhist rule. The Mosque, Mausoleums and Tombs became the monumental buildings during the Islamic and Mughal occupation of the sub-continent. In both the cases, the plans and massing were derived from simple geometric forms- either a circle or a square or an overlay of the two shapes.

• Traditional patterns of space use

• Construction design and symbolism

• Conceptions of space and systems of governance

Open to sky spaces

• Local climate and social environment

   Residential forms in ruins of Indus Valley Civilization at Mohenjodaro have internal courtyards with windows opening into them (Wheeler, 1966). The courtyards and colonnaded walkways are also seen in Public buildings of Indus Valley Civilization. The concept of the courtyard continues into the early Islamic Architecture of the 7th century in Sindh and later in the Mughal Architecture mainly at the monumental scale. It is also seen in the rural areas of Sindh where the courtyards become extensions of family social space. In denser urban fabrics of Old Karachi and Thatta the rooftop takes that position where it has been used for sleeping and socializing thus encashing on the pleasant evening breezes of the Arabian Sea.

Materials

• Local materials and skills

   In the Indus Valley Civilisation, the predominantly used construction material is baked brick with English bond, with timber used for roofing and treads of staircases. The fired brick of the Indus Valley civilisation had a proportion of 4:2:1 (10’x 5’x 2.5’).

• Imported aesthetics and technology

   The British introduced a new standard of brick size 9’x 4.5’x 3’ (Cooper and Dawson, 1998). The British also introduced the steel girders, cement and corrugated
Construction design and symbolism

Iron in the Indian sub-continent. Before this, all construction was done in either brick or stone in the urban areas and in mud in the rural areas. Mud plaster mixed with cow dung or straw was used as insulation in rural areas. Terracotta tiles and burnt bricks were used in houses that are more affluent. The roofing was made of thatch, straw or bamboo woven together.

The Hindu method of construction was largely trebeate embellished with plastic moulding of figures, humans a as well as animals (Khan, 2003).

More recently, the pre-cast cement slab with 'I' girders and corrugated iron sheets have started being used in the rural areas of Sindh for domestic construction.

Traditionally terracotta tiles have also been used for insulation of flat roofs without imposing weight. These continue to be used.

Glas was introduced in the sub-continent in the 1920s into the traditional buildings as a coloured decorative item (Cooper and Dawson, 1998:40).

Stone was mostly used in the plinth and foundations of the domestic buildings- where it was readily available as it is steadier than brick and does not require reinforcement. Stone was mixed with rubble or lime mortar for further strength and to make the houses earthquake resistant.

Decorative Elements

- Local materials and skills

The domestic houses both in the rural and urban settings were coated with lime plaster but after the British introduced the stucco plaster- facades and column capitals started being decorated in stucco (Lari, 1982). Bands and mouldings in plaster, circular rosettes, wrought iron works and floral motifs could be seen for ornamentation of affluent urban houses.

The monumental architecture was decorated using similar techniques with the addition of the blue glazed tiles and calligraphy in Mughal Architecture. The necropolis of Makli on the outskirts of Karachi also has some examples of stone-carved tombs and graves belonging to the 12th century (Khan, 2003). Decorated Chattris or domed pavilions were used for providing shelter over graves, which were also embellished by carved stone or glazed tiles.

- Imported aesthetics and technology

- Reuse and recyclable

Landscape

- Imported aesthetics and technology

The Mughals introduced the concept of using water for landscaping of their monumental buildings. Analogies were drawn with heaven on earth and walkways in landscapes were lined with fruit trees.

- Imported aesthetics and technology

- Local climate and social environment

Through the Colonial intervention, the sub-continent experienced the construction of parks (a foreign typology before the British introduced it in the sub-continent) and walkways along the beach. The Bandstand and Lady Lloyd Pier in Karachi are examples of these.

- Ecological and cultural diversity

Ventilation Systems

- Local climate and social environment

Wind catchers, Screens and sun-shades are devices which have been used extensively in the regional context of Karachi- mostly in neighbouring cities of Hyderabad and Thatta- where the temperatures are higher than Karachi in the summer and there is a requirement to let the breeze in but cut out the glare of the sun.

In Karachi’s urban vernacular the use of screens and louvers made in either wood or cement is more common because firstly, it cuts out the glare and let the breeze in and secondly it provides a sense of privacy in dense urban fabric of the old city, which is welcomed in the Islamic way of life.

- Reuse and recyclable

- Participatory approach

- Adaptable built form

- Reuse and recyclable

Table 2.3: Vernacular and morphological trend from the regional context of Karachi
2.4.3. Critical Regionalism and Critical Vernacular theories and localness of built form

Critical regionalism emphasizes the process rather than the product, is ‘critical of modernization’, ‘has an anti-centrist consensus’ and is critical of ‘placelessness’ (Eggener, 2002: 233). Critical regionalism thrives on global-local ‘binary opposition: how to become modern and to return to sources, how to revive an old dormant civilization and take part in universal civilization’ (Eggener, 2002: 234). Thus, the local-global tension and rift is at the core of critical regionalism. Lefaivre and Tzonis (2003) emphasize the respect for context, stress the importance or value of indigenous approaches to design, and discourage nostalgic importation of built form into colonies in critical regionalist theory (Figure 2.7). Critical regionalism is used by designers belonging to countries that experienced colonization and is applied to the local context to create built form that is not merely an imitation of the past. Tzonis and Lefaivre (2012) in their historical account of the evolution of regionalism as a movement and coining of critical regionalism as a term, highlight the importance of adaptation of structures to the climate of a region, respect for pre-existing settlements and cultural monuments and of developing a ‘critical dialogue with the site, foregrounding its particularity’ (Tzonis and Lefaivre, 2012: 186). ‘Memory’ and ‘identity’ are two more components that they describe as, retaining and reviving through the art of construction, because, according to them, regionalism point towards nationalism. Memory and identity are inherent in a design approach that stems from a physical and social explanation of the local context, such design creates connection to the local. Although ‘memory’ and identity are identified as components that create the local connection, exactly how is this link created is not described. In other words, what built form elements or urban morphologies create the connection with maqamiat is not clear in the literature reviewed.

Critical regionalism, as an approach to design has, however, been criticized by Shadar (2010) as lacking the ability to change and evolve with time. This is mainly because the scale of the projects is limited to a building, and has minimal community participation. Thus, although the projects incorporate regional elements that reflect local aesthetics and provide an adequate climatic response, their inability to adopt, change and grow with time weakens their ability to connect to the local context. Critical regionalism incorporates the physical features of vernacular built form, but it generally fails to appreciate the social aspects like empowerment and participation of communities.
As a concept, critical regionalism creates a connection with the local on the scale of a single building, for instance a hospital, school or museum, but it is not concerned with the urban scale. Critical regionalism is a ‘style’ imposed from within, but its shortfall lies in the fact that it became a ‘style’ of building and thus became limited to a certain typology and scale of built form (Eggener, 2002:228). Critical regionalism works on a pre-defined scale but is not applicable for all types of urban morphologies. However, what Abel (1994) further stresses is the basis of the forms of cities and buildings. It cannot be assumed that a city has adapted to a foreign culture. An eastern culture could be operating in a western form thus the decoding and explanation of social and cultural setups become even more important before judging the loss of local identities. In terms of economic globalization, another aspect that is worth considering is the adaptation of multinational companies to local demands with their decentralized ‘flexible confederation of smaller and semi-autonomous units, better able to respond to local conditions’ (Abel 1994). This idea raises a fundamental question regarding the relationship between form (as a physical makeup of place at all morphological scales) and meaning (cultural and personal affiliation) and co relationship of the two, the seeming relationship between social and cultural setups and resultant built form.

‘Critical vernacularism’ is yet another theory that is used in the literature on locally responsive built form, but its usage is very limited. It is used by Perera (2010) in his viewpoint about strategies to retain localness of built form in the face of globalization. He defines critical vernacular in the following words: ‘from a local vantage point, I see (the) emergence of a hybrid (modern) architecture which is capable of supporting contemporary (modern) functions through culturally compatible spaces with locally familiar- or easily familiarizable- aesthetics’ (Perera, 2010: 77) (Figure 2.6). His distinction between critical regionalism and critical vernacularism is not absolute. However, he stresses that critical vernacularism responds more to culture and history as compared to critical regionalism, which is more of a stylistic and economic response in terms of the built form. His emphasis is on the ‘locally produced differences, hybrids formed at particular crossings of histories, observed from the vantage point of the place and culture of production’ (Perera, 2010: 77).

What Perera (2010) has termed a difference in ‘vantage points’ with critical vernacularism having an internal vantage point and critical regionalism having an external vantage point can also be explained through the different scales each of these theories deal with. The difference between internal and external vantage points comes with the involvement and exclusion of local communities. Critical vernacularism is concerned with the critical implementation of
lessons learnt from the vernacular of a region at the neighbourhood scale of built form, whereas critical regionalism is concerned with application of these principles in monumental or landmark buildings. Thus the question of scale and the economic context that each of these theories deal with is important when addressing localness of built form. This is mapped in Table 2.4.

*Figure 2.6: An example of critical vernacular ‘The house at New Gourna by Hasan Fathy’*
*Source: Courtesy of the Aga Khan Documentation Center at MIT Available at: [http://archnet.org/media_contents/29959](http://archnet.org/media_contents/29959) accessed 13/07/14*

*Figure 2.7: An example of cirtical regionalsim ‘Saynatsalo Town Hall designed by Alvar Alto’*
*Source: [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/S%C3%A4yn%C3%A4tsalo_Town_Hall](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/S%C3%A4yn%C3%A4tsalo_Town_Hall) accessed 10-6-13*
2.4.4. Place, place making and place attachment theories and localness of built form

In place, place identity and place theories the local connection of the built form with its context is emphasized which gives authenticity and particularity. Place identity and place theories, however, have limited empirical application (as few theorists have applied the theories empirically on urban settings), but they are useful for explaining the concept of the local and in resolving the seeming contradictions between the global and the vernacular. Place identity and place theories describe the role of the built environment in creating a ‘sense of place’ or ‘place-identity’ (Knox, 2011; Unwin, 2009; Watson and Bentley, 2007; Lynch, 1972, 1960; Alexander, 1968 and Jacobs, 1961) but how exactly is this sense of place created is unclear, as there is lack of empirical proof. In other words, the identification of built form elements and urban morphologies within a city that creates a sense of place remains a challenge.

The literature on the importance of the built form in creating authenticity puts stress on the role of meaning and its multiplicity associated with the built form at the local level, ‘being concerned with the identity of persons and groups, the authorship of products, producers and cultural practices’ (Theodossopoulos, 2013: 339). The experience of authenticity has been tied to the experience of place (Ouf, 2001). Place making however is criticized as giving more importance to creating a place rather than retaining authenticity of the place. The literature employs the concept of genius loci, which is tied to the ‘experiences of those using places rather than deliberate place making’ (Jivén and Larkham, 2003: 67). Conzen (1969) mentions the shift in genius loci with amendments in the built form. According to Jivén and Larkham (2003) genius loci, which stems from the works of Norberg-Schulz has been used interchangeably with words like ‘atmosphere’, ‘character’, ‘spirit of place’ and ‘expressive intelligibility’ by conservationists, urban designers and planners without really getting a detailed grasp of the concept of genius loci, which is culturally specific (Jivén and Larkham, 2003: 69-70). Genius loci should be understood as ‘the sense people have of a place’ and the ‘sum of all physical as well as symbolic values in nature and the human environment’ (Jivén and Larkham, 2003: 70). As inferred from this argument when considering the authenticity of a place, along with the street patterns, traditional buildings, materials and ecology, meaning associated with the place, its changing nature and association of people with the place is important.
The theories on place affiliation and place attachment deal mostly with the social and cultural attachment to a place. Place attachment has been defined as the affective link that connects people to places (Altman and Low, 1992; Manzo, 2005). Length of residence, strength of neighbourhood ties and home ownership are some of the factors that have been spelled out in the literature which helps to develop this bond (Lewicka, 2013). The parameters that have been spelled out in the literature to assess place attachment of locals include social cohesion, residential satisfaction and place identification (Uzzell et al., 2002).

Localness is a core concept of theories on place attachment, but it is articulated in terms of social and cultural affiliations and not in terms of physical and urban morphological affiliation that this research aims to.

Place has also been tied to notions of social significances and effects. ‘Place requires human agents, as we are the ones who delimit an area of physical space with rules about what should or should not take place. On the other hand, place also enables and empowers us by helping to organize reality’ (Pow, 2009: 96). Thus, according to Pow, as the notion of place is able to weave these various tangible and intangible concepts together to form a conceptual whole it is important that it be addressed and comprehended.

This notion is labelled as ‘place identity’ by some authors. Place-identity is the meaning and significance places have for inhabitants and users and has been described as ‘individual’s incorporation of place into the larger concept of self’ (Hauge, 2007:45) or as ‘potpourri of memories, conceptions, interpretations, ideas, and related feelings about specific physical settings, as well as types of settings’ (Proshansky et al., 1983: 60). Place making is the concept that is concerned with the planning and design of places with the intention of promoting place-identity (Knox, 2010). Theories on place and place identity however (Relph, 1976 and Hauge, 2007) stop at conceptualizing space and do not dwell on the application of theory into practice through urban design or planning as these are largely developed by geographers and psychologists. Theories on place making develop concepts related to place (Knox, 2011; Unwin, 2009; Butina Watson and Ian Bentley, 2007; Lynch, 1972, 1960; Alexander, 1968; Jacobs, 1961) into tangible outputs through urban design, architecture and urban planning.

For the operationalization of the concepts of place those aspects which have been highlighted in theories on place-making are: empowerment of communities, celebration of rootedness, promotion of trans-culturalism and sense of co-dwelling with nature (Watson and Bentley,
or celebration of co-existence of communities through the built form (Jacobs, 1961) or through reading, interpreting and celebrating the elements that make up the city (Alexander, Ishikawa, et al., 1977; Lynch, 1960). In all these theories, stress is placed on developing an analysis of the morphological and typological character and evolution of urban space, respecting the distinctiveness of regional and local physicality, promoting a sense of place through sensory experiences, endorsing intangible heritage through design, and respecting layers of meanings, values and interpretations attached to the urban form and processes. In short, the built form is a common denominator in all these theories, and its relationship with the intangible processes such as culture and society is to be respected and valued. Natural features of a place are also considered an integral part of the definition of an area thus its preservation, conservation and promotion, is an important aspect of the theories of place making.

Theories on place, place making, place identity and place affiliation deal with the connection of the built form with society, natural resources and urban morphological evolution of a place in particular. These theories assume a system of governance and infrastructure in place, which may not always be present in the context of the Developing World. Thus, place, place making, place identity and place affiliation as theories are not comprehensibly applicable in the Developing World context, but can inform this research as a concept. Some of the concepts that can be inferred from these theories and help in grasping localness of built form are discussed below.

**Adaptability and flexibility**

Adaptability and flexibility are attributes in places that have a sense of vivacity as ‘greater levels of place adaptability facilitates higher levels of ongoing vitality, due to the ability for structures to be used for a range of purposes over time,’ (March et.al, 2012:531). Lynch (1972) suggests that places should have flexibility in order to address changing requirements of the context and there should be compatibility between function, form and activity for places to survive longer and have a sense of connection to the local.

According to Aminzadeh and Afshar (2004:76), ‘an adaptable design is one that affords different standing patterns of behaviour at different times or simultaneously without undergoing physical change. A design is flexible when its structure is easily changed to accommodate different needs.’ These authors, quoting Venturi (1966) and Jacobs...
(1969), suggest a direct relationship between adaptability and flexibility of design and length of time that these structures survive.

Pungas et al. (2009:192) takes this relationship between form, function and the context further in his reading of places and interpreting their meaning by advocating that the ‘form of a place helps us to understand what a place looks like, function shows what the place has been used for, context embodies a variety of factors that affect the function and form of the place, and finally process explains how form, function and context reach and interact with each other.’

Thus, the relationship between the form, function and context is important for analysing the flexibility and adaptability of a place along with the meanings connected to places.

**Patina**

Another concept that theories of place and place making describe is that of ‘patina’ which helps explain localness of built form. Patina, when used in connection to a place has a sense of history, continuity and appearance related to it. It is important for conservationists and art historians who study the authenticity and age of artefacts. In the connotation of a place, patina has to do with the history, continuity and cultural weathering of a place. In order to understand the past collective and individual memory of a particular place, the context needs to be decoded much in the same manner that an archaeologist unearths artefacts in order to grasp their meaning, origin and reason for being.

**Memory**

In participatory planning, a grasp of the collective and individual memory of a place in order to propose future design interventions is a common practice. The views and desires of communities are given importance, as compared to some preconceived notions of politicians of what the built form should look like. Place memory is the term given to the relationship between a place and its recollection and it has been deemed essential by planners to understand ‘how the past of a place permeates the present and, in so doing, disrupts any possible unilinear reading of a place and open it up to multilinear and nonlinear readings’ (Halevi and Blumen, 2011:384). Place affiliation theory deals with the continuity of social and cultural attachment to a place of communities and individuals over years and focuses on the recollection of place by people.
The evolution of the physical fabric of a place can be analysed through studying the context through visuals of the past and the present, whereas the memory and meaning associated with the built form is difficult to ascertain. Despite this, collective and individual memory constitutes a sense of identity and belonging to a certain place and helps understand the political, social and cultural connect of the place with the built form (Fenster and Misgav, 2014). Thus, the experience and perception of users about the built form can help to define the evolution of the physical fabric and the physical traces behind it.

**Particularity**

Another concept relevant to the discussion of place is the context’s particularity, which helps define localness of built form since it connects with the intangible aspects of localness, highlighting the meaning and values associated with the built form by the users of the place. Relph’s discussion (1987) of post modernism calls the loss of this particularity ‘placelessness’. McClay (2011: 36) debates the ‘provisional’, ‘interchangeable’, ‘disposable’ character of places in the globalised world and how the particularity of a place is being lost to the organizational tendencies of national governments which mainly stress on enforcing uniformity of the built form.

‘For place is always grounded in the particular, even the provincial. Such affirmation is not mere attachment to the abstraction of “place” but to this place, scaled to our innate human sensibility: toward specific homelands and neighbourhoods and country sides and landscapes, each having its own enveloping aura of thoughts and desires and memories: that is to say, its own history, its own customs and traditions, its own stories, its food ways and folkways, its relics, and its burial grounds’ (McClay, 2011: 38).

As built form engages with human activity and the memories associated with a place, it is important to analyze the tangible aspects of the built form like the style of building, aesthetics, materials and details, to explain localness of built form, as these tangible aspects of the built form make places distinctive and give them particularity.

**Connectivity**

Connectivity is another important aspect of place characteristics. It is relevant to localness of places, as it directly influences upon the ‘resident’s satisfaction and the real estate value’ (Shach-Pinsly et. al 2011; 233). Although the literature on urban design (Shach-Pinsly et.al,
2011; Mehta and Bosson, 2010; Ziller, 2007) considers connectivity in the urban context, ensures legibility, but in the context of the developing world where controls and regulations are weak the more connected an area is, the greater the chances that the forces of globalization will take over resulting in changes of the urban morphology. On the other hand the less connected an urban space is the less will be the impact of globalization. Thus, for the streets to be active and have vitality, connectivity between the streets and the buildings is important, but for the characteristics of an urban context to be retained over a longer period of time connectivity needs to be limited to counter the forces of globalization which cash in on the economic potential of a particular place.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>THEORY</th>
<th>SCALE OF OPERATION</th>
<th>ECONOMIC CONTEXT</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Global Cities</td>
<td>Individual building</td>
<td>Urban</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Neighbourhood</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Vernacular built form</td>
<td>Individual building</td>
<td>Rural</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Critical Regionalism</td>
<td>Individual building</td>
<td>Urban</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Critical Vernacular</td>
<td>Neighbourhood</td>
<td>Urban + Rural</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Place</td>
<td>Neighbourhood</td>
<td>Urban</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Place making</td>
<td>Neighbourhood</td>
<td>Urban</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Place attachment</td>
<td>Neighbourhood</td>
<td>Urban</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 2.4: Different urban scales and economic contexts that each theory operates within

Some of the features that can be added that tie in with the inherent aspects of localness based on the literature review of theories of global cities, critical regionalism, regionalism, vernacular built form, place, place making and place attachment are highlighted in Table 2.5.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Inherent aspects of localness (indicators)</th>
<th>Concepts to be addressed to understand localness of built form</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Particularity</td>
<td>Relations of power</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Competing variables: vernacular and globalness</td>
<td>Scale of built form</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Time and social processes</td>
<td>Typology of built form</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Authenticity</td>
<td>Meaning of the built form</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Adaptability</td>
<td>Retention of urban vernacular to prevent creation of non-places.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Patina</td>
<td>Economic and social requirement of working classes.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Connectivity</td>
<td>Addressing local tangibles: climate, material</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Analysis of traditional patterns of space use, construction design and symbolism and participatory approach</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Analysis Ecological and cultural diversity</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Memory associated with the built form</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Concepts of Identity</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Concepts of Place</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*Table 2.5: Highlighting aspects of localness based on literature review of global city, vernacular built form, regionalism, critical regionalism, place, place making and place attachment theories*
In short, according to the literature reviewed localness of built form has the following characteristics:

1. Localness connects to the power structure and the decision making process in a context
2. Localness links to local tangibles like local material, local climate rendering an inherent authenticity and particularity to the built form.
3. Localness incorporates a dimension of time and links it up with social processes through adaptability of the built form to social and economic context.
4. Localness is defined by variables and how they affect the built form.

In all the theories reviewed, localness of built form is an important aspect and the literature discusses the following specific components of maqamiat:

**Global city theory:** Global city theory outlines the particularity of the built form and fluid relationship between the local and the global. As expressed here “The special or rare aspects of a place may be important, but it is the qualities of the common place that define its identity. The focus should be on appropriateness to and expressiveness of the time and place, rather than simply being pre-occupied by difference” (Common Ground Losing Your Place, 1993). In the age of globalization, place gets influenced by class, capitalism and consumerism, but the local social and cultural values are important to analyze and understand to retain localness.

**Vernacular theory:** Vernacular theory describes the authenticity and adaptability of the built form through origin and connection with the local context. “The real and the genuine hold a strength of meaning for people, whereas the inauthentic appears one dimensional and unsatisfying” (Common Ground Losing Your Place, 1993).

**Critical regionalism and critical vernacular theories:** These theories describe aspects of memory, value; identity and place of the built form that create a local connect.

**Place, place making, place affiliation theories:** These theories describe authenticity, particularity, adaptability, patina and connectivity of the built form that create a connection with the tangibles and intangible aspects shaping the built form. These theories incorporate a dimension of time and address social processes and variables influencing localness.
Built form theories, generally, value localness in terms of authenticity, adaptability, connectivity, patina, particularity and aspects of globalness but their connection with the meaning associated with built form and urban morphologies is weak, as they do not generally talk about how this connection can be achieved.

The literature review with the indicators of local distinctiveness has been summarized in Figure 2.8.
Figure 2.8: Theoretical Framework
2.5. Value systems and production of built form

In this section, the position of different urban actors and their role and interests in developing a relationship with localness of built form is described. The bigger question addressed is, how are decisions taken in a context of competing views about what should be built?

In order to understand the forces behind the production of built form the following key questions need to be asked 1) who are the key actors? 2) who has the power to change? and 3) who has the authority to implement? (Bentley, 1999). McGlynn (1993: 6-7) proposes a ‘power gram’ for urban form which relates the physical elements of the built environment to the major actors in the production of built form production (Figure 2.9). Although this ‘power gram’ is very basic, in its analysis it provides some insight into the production process of built form. The major actors are divided into three main categories of suppliers, producers and consumers with sub-divisions into landowners, funders, developers, local authority, planners, architects, urban designers and every day users. McGlynn also points out that the matrix does not reflect any users belonging to a disadvantaged group (for instance the poorer sections of the society) within the development process.

\[ \text{Figure 2.9: Power gram adopted from McGlynn, 1993} \]

\( \text{(removed due to failure to obtain right holders permission)} \)
Both individual actions and sources of power need to be considered when analysing built form. It is the ‘socially constructed and shared rules and resources’ (Bentley, 1999: 64) which give shape to the desires of individuals and thus results in a certain type of built form. This does not however mean that certain forms and typologies should be replicated randomly but can be adopted with innovation to a particular context (Bentley, 1999).

This relationship between the production of built form and the role of various actors is linked to space in an abstract manner by Mugavin (1999) in his analysis of Lefebvre’s theory of built form. According to this theory, there is ‘perceived space’, ‘conceived space’ and ‘lived representational space’ (Maugavin, 1999: 98). Perceived space is the space encountered in daily routines by consumers, conceived space is how ‘planners, urbanists, technocrats, and social engineers’ envision urban space, and lived representational space is associated with imagery and symbolism which is arrived at by bigger visions, mainly steered by politicians (Maugavin, 1999: 98). Thus, a similar three tiered group of actors and decision makers is described by Mugavin as McGlynn which is helpful in explaining ‘exactly how and why a society contrives to produce its space’ (Maugavin, 1999: 98).

These two theoretical positions have been consolidated and are presented in Figure 2.10.
Based on the interaction between the different ways in which built form can be conceptualized and the way decisions are taken, it is important to understand the role of decision makers and their value systems, particularly in association with localness, because the meanings associated with the built form varies. Values of the decision makers are vital for the eventual shape that the built form will take. It should however be acknowledged that the choices available for the decision makers are limited and only certain things are possible-legally, financially and also at times aesthetically. The values embodied in the different images of the city lead to construction of different built form within the city. The problem lies not in this, but in the fact that designers’ ‘values have not been made explicit and the images and values of non-designers rarely considered’ (Rapoport, 1977: 25).

Mugavin (1999), in his analysis of Lefebvre’s theory of built form, states that besides the social relationship of space with the built form the ‘mental’ relationship is also important when decoding urban built form. Lefebvre’s theory is not grounded in empirical research, but can be coupled with Rapoport’s theories on the relationship between built form and intangible aspects of a society through decoding culture, values, image, schema and life-style through mapping of activities. These activities can be analysed in terms of ‘activity proper’, ‘specific way of doing it’, ‘additional, or associated activities’ and ‘symbolic aspects of the activity’ (Rapoport, 1977: 19). Activity proper is an activity that is recurrent and is performed in a specific manner. All other activities related to this activity are termed ‘associated activities’. This approach is represented diagrammatically in Figure 2.11 and is a logical approach to understand an intangible entity like culture and its relation to physical form.
Dunleavy, 2005 uses the term ‘localness’ and describes the built form as the product of physical as well as cultural processes and the evolution of a society. According to him ‘localness involves a raft of assumptions, questions, or problems concerned with cultural identity’ (Dunleavy, 2005: 371) that is expressed in the built form. Built form is a sub set of culture, but only some aspects of the culture translate into certain aspects of the built form. ‘Culture provides the rules, schemata or blueprints about how to behave how to do things, how to build. Habitual behaviour translates culture into form’ (Rapoport, 2000; 185). ‘Preference’, ‘choice’, who is making the choices and the time in which those choices are made all impact upon this translation of some aspects of culture into the built form (Rapoport, 2000; 186). Culture, according to Rapoport, can be conceptualized in a number of ways.
ranging from the ‘way of life’, as a ‘system of symbols’ or as a ‘set of adaptive strategies related to resources and ecology’ (Rapoport, 2000; 178). Culture should be conceptualized as a framework that changes with time.

Thus, the decisions taken by the consumers of built form that are translated as perceived space is informed by the cultural process at some level. ‘Culture’ has a number of definitions, but what is important for describing maqamiat of built form is how culture is translated into built form. According to Rapoport, culture gets translated into built form in three possible ways, 1) as a ‘control mechanism’ 2) as a ‘blueprint’ 3) as a ‘set of rules and instructions’ (Rapoport, 2000: 182). These three possible ways are reflected in the built form as the conceived and lived representational spaces mentioned above. The daily activities of consumers of the built form can be translated as perceived space which can be understood through mapping of networks of ‘home range, core areas, territory, jurisdictions and personal space’ (Rapoport, 1977: 267).

In order to make sense of maqamiat it is important to understand who is making decisions about the built form. Why decisions are being taken in a certain way? What are the values that are informing these decisions? What are the aesthetic considerations attached to these decisions and if there are any symbolic meanings attached to the decisions taken?

The various channels that the decision making process goes through results in different types of urban form. In order to be able to comprehend the qualitative aspect of maqamiat in different modes of production of built form it is helpful to understand the various physical components that built form is composed of. The following section gives a general overview of the various way decisions are taken that result in different typologies of built form in Karachi, before putting together a conceptual framework to understand maqamiat of built form.

2.5.1. The decision making process about the built form construction in Karachi

The Karachi strategic development plan 2020 (ECIL 2007) gives a vision for the development of the city as ‘transforming Karachi into a world class city and attractive economic centre with a decent life for Karachiites’ (ECIL, 2007: iii). The emphasis in the strategic plan is on the creation of a world-class city with a ‘vibrant heart’ (ECIL, 2007: 3). Economic integration has been highlighted as one of the strategies in KSDP 2020. The KSDP 2020 responds to ‘local pressures and incentives’ and has been deemed necessary to promote
economics as stated ‘local conditions can attract and influence a much wider audience of players’ (ECIL, 2007: 29). Thus, the lived representational space for Karachi perceives it as a city portraying a global image.

According to the literature reviewed earlier in this Chapter, for a city to have global advantage its local distinctiveness needs to be discovered and developed (Chalana, 2010; King, 2004; Persky and Wiewel, 1994). One of the strategies that a city can adopt to gain global advantage is by retaining, developing and marketing its local built form.

Broadly speaking the built form in Karachi can be differentiated between planned and unplanned processes of construction. The official process is termed the ‘planned’, which follows prescribed rules of Karachi’s building and town planning control authorities. The unplanned process does not necessarily follow these rules and comes into existence through informal procedures. Karachi has had six master plans since independence in 1947 all of which have proposed strategies and growth direction for the city addressing formally designed built form. Informal form gets accommodated in the leftover spaces within the city through an unofficial process.

The planned built form of Karachi can be sub-divided into dominant and non-dominant built form (Mumtaz, 1999). The dominant built form is made up of buildings and urban design projects which are expected to portray a certain image of the city of Karachi and respond to the global context. Architects and planners, mostly trained in the Western institutions of planning design, according to the estimates obtained from the Institute of Architects Pakistan (IAP), execute these projects. The demand of the client is to portray a global image, thus their contribution in the cityscape has been the introduction of some form of ornamentation and cladding on the building facades in the post-modern traditions (Mumtaz, 1999). These buildings do not use the architectural elements existing previously in the city and its context, and are not always the best local climatic or responsive solutions.

Some buildings, however, designed by foreign architects in the 1970s and ‘80s, are adequate responses to climate, materials and economic realities which ‘combine modern building forms with traditional courtyard planning concepts and natural ventilation techniques’ (Abel, 1993-94). The Karachi University and the Aga Khan University Hospital are two such projects with the Aga Khan University Hospital analysed in detail by Abel (2000) in a discourse on regionalism.
The non-dominant built form comprises the bigger percentage of the urban morphology of the city (70% of the built form). This is mainly mixed use walk-ups and domestic buildings. These buildings are mostly executed by developers with the intention of maximizing profit, which ends up in poor quality construction because of substandard usage of material (Figure 2.12).

![Figure 2.12: Apartment buildings in Karachi](image)

Some high-income domestic architecture, which employs architects, tries to incorporate design elements that stem from local vernacular and climatically responsive solutions (Figure 2.13). The impact of this building typology is minimal because its percentage is negligible.
Figure 2.13: Images of two houses designed by Architect Najeeb Omar in Karachi portraying a modern interpretation of introverted courtyard
Source: Najeeb Omar Architect, Karachi
Military cantonments are another category of the non-dominant built form in the city. These occupy 2.1% of land in Karachi and are cordonned off by high walls to limit access for security reasons. The bare walls do not add to the aesthetics of the city (Figure 2.14).

Figure 2.14: Military cantonments cordonned off by walls and entrance gates

Another type of urban form, which occupies a big percentage of the built form of the city of Karachi is the unplanned and incrementally developed housing settlements. This built form has been developed through an informal process, and has consolidated and been leased over the years. Its location, within the city is marginal, occupying riverbeds, railway tracks and peripheral land on the outskirts of the city. According to some estimates (Hasan, 2013), 60% of the population of the city live in informal housing. This typology does not visually impose on the morphology of the city simply because it occupies the backwaters. These settlements however, do offer some built form solutions that stem from the local context in terms of process of delivery and in the layout and design of settlements as it involves community participation and consultation (Figure 2.15).
Thus, built form in Karachi varies from residential, to commercial, to mixed use, to institutional (which includes built form housing educational, health facilities and government offices), to warehousing (Figure 2.16).
Figure 2.16: The different land uses for Karachi as documented in the Karachi Strategic Development Plan 2020

The land ownership patterns are complex too. As many as fifteen agencies own land within the city of Karachi (Figure 2.17). Many of these agencies are independent developers, which do not subscribe to the Karachi Building and Town Planning Regulations and have developed their own byelaws and regulations. The Defence Housing Authority, within Karachi, which is a Military run agency, is one example.

![Figure 2.17: Land owned by different agencies within Karachi as documented in the Karachi Strategic Development Plan 2020 (2007) available at http://www.shehri.org/2020.pdf accessed 24-4-14](image-url)
The variety of the built form within Karachi could arguably, become an asset if the local qualities of each typology of built form were recognized and highlighted. For this, it is important to understand what is local for the built form of Karachi, and how it can creatively respond to the global context. As mentioned previously, there are some solutions offered in terms of the design of the built form that respond to the culture, economics and technology of the context, but they are not the driving force for the bulk of the built form and their impact is minimal. The global precedence and imagery has taken the front seat, which does not always respond well to the culture, economic and technology of the context of Karachi.

2.6. Urban morphologies and design qualities in relationship to *maqamiat*

The aim of this section is to explain the various physical components that go into the making of an urban context, in order to be able to analyze the scale at which *maqamiat* can be identified in the built form. Broadly speaking, the components of the built form reviewed in the literature that make up localness of built form can be grouped into two sub-sections;

1. Intangible aspects of the built form (values, meaning associated with the place associated with the built form continuity and appearance related to a place, weathering, past collective and individual memories)

2. Tangible aspects of the built form (street patterns, traditional buildings, connectivity, material, ecology, form, function, context, style of building, aesthetics and material of construction). The link of urban morphologies and design qualities with *maqamiat* of built form helps explain localness in a context.

Thus, this section:

1. Firstly identifies the key components of urban form and examines how the morphological levels of the built environment support *maqamiat* in the light of the literature reviewed.

2. Secondly, it identifies the design qualities that contribute to *maqamiat* of built form.

These two attributes become a pre requisite that need to be explained in any context in order to explain the connection of *maqamiat* with the built form. These pre requisites are made manifest through larger master plans and building and town planning regulations.
2.6.1. Urban morphologies and *maqamiat* of built form

The post-World War II era saw theoretical propositions for studying urban form being put forward by English, Italian and French schools of thought. The Italians were interested in the rehabilitation of historic town centres; thus, they focused on typological study and analysis of urban form. The British approach, as put forward by Conzen (1969), was to ‘map precisely individual plots of land and the block plans of the buildings that stand within them’ (Gauthiez, 2004: 77). The French used a topographic representation ‘studying the plot patterns and their organization in the past’ (Gauthiez, 2004: 79).

Thus, the evolution of the urban form gives insight into the development of a society. This however needs to link to the theories reviewed in Section 2.4. From the literature reviewed on design methodologies used within larger theories of place making, place identity, critical regionalism and vernacular architecture the following conclusions can be drawn.

Theories of place making and place identity rely on developing design methods through an explanation of urban morphological evolution, and their scale of intervention can be the plot, street or building façade, whereas theories on critical regionalism and vernacular architecture, though respecting the urban morphological evolution, design at the scale of individual building, in terms of massing, form and facade.

Urban morphology and urban typology are the two most commonly used methods for research and documentation of built form in the theories of place making and place identity, whereas urban design methods are used for implementing design on an urban area. Urban morphology has been defined as having three distinctive features: 1) ‘form is the result of a process’ 2) it embodies an ‘idea of type or configuration’ which generates a ‘generic type’ of urban form 3) ‘the generic types of form are related to each other in a hierarchy of levels of scale, which in simple form includes, street patterns, plot patterns and building patterns’ (Kropf, 2011:394). Kropf calls the ‘plan unit’ or the ‘urban tissue’ the main product of morphological analysis, which reflects the different combinations of street, plot, and buildings that make up an urban context. At the hierarchy of scale, according to Kropf, ‘urban tissue lies at the mid-point. It is the element that is combined to form the larger scale structure of whole settlements and is composed of the smaller scale elements that create places and local identity’ (Kropf, 2011:406). Kropf further reiterates that by using the urban tissue as a medium for analysing the urban context, by differentiating different ingredients
that make up the urban form, part to part and part to whole relationships and by comprehending development patterns and anomalies, the local urban context can be explained. Since the concept of urban tissue, as put forward by Kropf, embodies the idea of type, social process and temporal aspects at various scales, it can form an important analytical tool for an urban area.

In theory, urban design should be informed by studies of urban morphology and urban tissues. The difference between urban design and urban morphology, as highlighted by Marshall and Caliskan (2011), is that while urban morphology looks into the past for reasons behind the existence of urban form, urban design proposes its future. Thus, urban morphology provides the raw material for urban design. The differences and similarities between urban morphology and urban design, as outlined Marshall and Caliskan (2011), have been summarized by the author in Table 2.6:
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Urban morphology</th>
<th>Urban Design</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Pattern recognition</td>
<td>Pattern creation</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Analysis of ensemble of buildings and spaces</td>
<td>Deliberate creation of such ensembles</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Interface and interpretation of type</td>
<td>Invention of types and intervention using type</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Inferring urban form-function relationships</td>
<td>Expressing urban form-function relationships</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Explaining and evaluating what urban design is creating</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Practiced by geographers and spatial analysts with a scientific background</td>
<td>Practiced by architects and other professional with design training</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Both relate to physical urban form</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Both involve some degree of abstraction, identifiable in terms of various kinds of urban form elements</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Both relate to a range of scales</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Both can be seen as products: the morphology of an area, the design of an area</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Both can be seen as processes</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Morphology could be part of the urban design process</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Agency of urban design can be what urban morphologist infers</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Morphology is a shadow of physical reality and design is a fore shadow</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Both one step removed from physical reality: Speak the same language- instruments: pens, paper, rulers, computer</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Medium: metrics, shapes and types</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 2.6: Differences and similarities between urban design and urban morphology
Source: Marshall and Caliskan (2011)

In explaining the *maqamiat* of the built form, it is important to have a grasp over the urban tissue and urban morphology of an area. If this connects to the decision making process of urban design and development, it can lead to the articulation of the process in which different groups have control over urban change.

Within the field of urban morphology a range of research, documentation and analytical approaches can be undertaken. In his review of the different approaches to urban
morphology, Kropf (2009) identifies four different directions, which have been presented in Table 2.7 below (put together by author), along with the major principles of each of the four approaches and the key theorists.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Approach</th>
<th>Theorist</th>
<th>Principles</th>
<th>Aspects of inquiry</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>‘<strong>spatial analytical approach</strong>’</td>
<td>Micheal Batty</td>
<td>‘cellular automata, agent based models and fractals’ (Kropf, 2009: 109)</td>
<td>● Spatial distribution</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>● Spatial scales</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘<strong>configurational approach</strong>’</td>
<td>Bill Hillier</td>
<td>Spatial structure (called space syntax) of settlements to be understood through a ‘range of analytical models’ (Kropf, 2009: 111)</td>
<td>● Space/ physical form</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>● Use/occupation/ movement</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>● perception</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘<strong>process typological approach</strong>’</td>
<td>Saverio Muratori Gianfranco Caniggia</td>
<td>‘forms found at different levels are identified as types which are conceived as cultural entities rooted in, and specific to the local process of cultural development’ (Kropf, 2009: 112)</td>
<td>● ‘Physical form</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>● Function/ use</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>● The idea of the building or form</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>● The act of construction/ modification</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>● The cultural process of derivation and/or development/ change’ (Kropf, 2009: 112)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘<strong>historico geographical approach</strong>’</td>
<td>M.R.G. Conzen</td>
<td>‘Geographical structure and character of towns through a systematic analysis of their constituent elements and development through time’ (Kropf, 2009: 113)</td>
<td>● ‘street system</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>● plot pattern</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>● building pattern</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>● landuse, building form/ material (Conzen, 1969)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 2.7: Different approaches to urban morphology
Of the four approaches mentioned above to analyze urban morphology, the ‘process typological approach’ and ‘historico geographical approach’ are most relevant when analyzing built form for localness. This is because both these approaches work towards the identification of local processes involved in giving shape to the built form and study the evolution of built form through time. Time is an important element in any analysis of built form because the meaning and physical form of spaces keeps changing and evolving with time. Thus, in the context of this research, what localness may mean today it may not stand for tomorrow. ‘Space has a morphogenesis and is not a fixed entity. Its very conception resides in the society in which it is located. It varies from society to society and from era to era’ (Maugavin, 1999: 96). In this research, the selection of case studies which belong to different chronological periods have been chosen because localness will have different meanings in each setting.

Another approach to analysing the built form is typological. According to Gauthier (2005: 83) ‘process typology theory has proven extremely beneficial in providing refined depictions of the complex structure of the built environment and in proposing challenging intrinsic morphological explanations of process’. In his discussion of typology and the use of the typological process in the evolution of the current built form, he proposes the incorporation of current social demands and processes in order to fully comprehend the meaning in the built form. In short, according to Gauthier (2005: 88-89) the study of types must not simply be a study of the physical form and materials of the built environment, but must address the ‘social needs that it serves, as well as the socially produced knowledge arising from a dialectical interplay between’ the spatial configurations and social demands. He cites the example of Colonial urbanism where new forms introduced in a pre-existing urban setting produce a ‘new socio-spatial order’ (Gauthier, 2005:89).

The ‘process typological approach’ and ‘historico geographical approach’ are most relevant when analysing built form for maqamiat. What follows is a framework (Table 2.8) put together for analysing built form at different scales. The term ‘urban tissue’ has been used here, because as mentioned before, and as highlighted by Kropf (2011), it embodies the idea of type, social process and temporal aspects at various urban scales.
Another method of analysing the urban form that can be useful in the context of Karachi is the one put forward by Lynch (1960). Dovey and Ross (2011) propose using Lynch’s categories of ‘paths’, ‘edges’, ‘district’, ‘nodes’ and ‘landmarks’ (Dovey and Ross, 2011: 26) for developing theoretical frameworks for the analysis of informal settlements. According to them, in any analysis of informal settlements, it is important to understand the ‘production of assemblages’ (Dovey and Ross, 2011: 27), the ways these settlements evolve, are connected within themselves and with the rest of the urban fabric not just physically, but also socially and economically. Thus, Lynch’s methodology can be used for analysing the maqamiat of built form, by dissecting an urban context into components labelled as paths, edges, landmarks, districts and nodes along with the urban morphological approach as described by Kropf (2011). These two methods have been used to analyze maqamiat in the two case study areas in Chapters Five and Six.
2.6.2. Design qualities and maqamiat of built form

The design qualities that contribute to localness of built form, according to the literature reviewed in section 2.4, are physical, social and economic aspects that connect to the built form. The scale and temporal qualities of the built form help explain some of the inherent aspects that need to be decoded for localness. According to the literature, these are authenticity, adaptability, patina, particularity, connectivity and variables of vernacular and globalness along with the social process.

According to Carmona (1993), authenticity comes through identification of built form elements that have a sense of continuity. Street patterns, traditional buildings, monuments, materials, ecology, and the way people associate with certain buildings bring a place authenticity. Adaptability has been defined as the connection to the local social and economic requirements with the built form (Carmona: 1993). Adaptability is the way functions adopt to form and context and vice versa. Meanings associated with built form also get adapted with time. Patina is related to a sense of history, and comes from identification of built form element that has continued to be present over time. In terms of design elements patina is associated with built form elements that incorporate cultural weathering of a place and with which past collective memories are associated.

Particularity comes from built form elements that seem appropriate and expressive of time and place. Style of building, aesthetic choices, use of material and certain built form details fall within this category as they signify a certain place.

Connectivity of the built form also needs to be evaluated to describe localness of built form. Built form that lies on the main arteries of a city tends to be influenced greatly by global impacts as compared to built form not visible on the main arteries. Thus, connections and integration of the built form with the urban morphology needs to be analysed.

These design qualities and intangible aspects of the built form that help explain maqamiat are summarized in Table 2.9.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Concepts to be addressed to understand localness of built form (indicators)</th>
<th>Inherent aspects of localness (indicators)</th>
<th>Design qualities of built form that help understand localness</th>
<th>Intangible aspects that helps understand localness</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>• Relations of power</td>
<td>• Authenticity</td>
<td>• Streets patterns</td>
<td>• Meaning associated with the place</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• Scale of built form</td>
<td>• Traditional buildings</td>
<td>• Changing nature of place and association of people with it.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• Typology of built form</td>
<td>• Materials and ecology</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• Meaning of the built form</td>
<td>• Meaning associated with the place</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• Retention of urban vernacular to prevent creation of non-places.</td>
<td>• Changing nature of place and association of people with it.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• Economic and social requirement of working classes.</td>
<td>• Analysis of traditional patterns of space use, construction design and symbolism and participatory approach</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• Addressing local tangibles: climate, material</td>
<td>• Analysis of ecological and cultural diversity</td>
<td>• Sense of history</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• Analysing traditional patterns of space use, construction design and symbolism and participatory approach</td>
<td>• Memory associated with the built form</td>
<td>• Past collective and individual memory of a place</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• Analyzing Ecological and cultural diversity</td>
<td>• Patina</td>
<td>• Adaptation of space/place to social and cultural values and meanings</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• Memory associated with the built form</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• Concepts of Identity</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• Concepts of Place</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Table 2.9: Design qualities and intangible aspects of the built form that help evaluate ‘maqamiyat’ of built form.**
2.7. Synthesis into an evaluative framework

This section synthesizes the ideas and concepts derived from the literature and the process of built form production, value systems and urban morphological and design quality analysis into an evaluative framework that have been used for case studies from Karachi in the preceding chapters for analysing *maqamiat* of built form.

This Chapter has so far highlighted that in order to understand the production of built form the value systems and the physical components of built form have to be understood. The value systems can broadly be divided between perceived space, conceived space and lived representational space. The urban tissue (Kropf 2011) coupled with Lynch’s (1960) urban categories: path, edge, monument, landmark and district, within the ‘process typological’ and ‘historico geographical’ approach have been used as the research methods as they embody the idea of type, social process and temporal aspects at various urban scales. The connection between the way decisions are taken, scale of intervention and indicators for *maqamiat* is presented in Table 2.10.

A conceptual framework together with the inherent aspects of *maqamiat*, urban morphological components, components of built form that help analyze localness of built form, various way decisions are taken and the scale of intervention is presented in Table 2.11. This conceptual framework is revised in Chapter Three to include the research methods as outlined in the next Chapter.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Urban Scale</th>
<th>Lived Representational Space decided by Politicians</th>
<th>Conceived Space Decided by Professionals</th>
<th>Perceived Space Decided by everyday users</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Void/ space</td>
<td>Void/ space</td>
<td>Void/ space</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Routes/ public spaces</td>
<td>Routes / public spaces</td>
<td>Routes/ public spaces</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>External private spaces</td>
<td>External private spaces</td>
<td>External private spaces</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Solid</td>
<td>Solid</td>
<td>Solid</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Indicators for localness**

- **Authenticity**
- **Particularity**
- **Patina**
- **Adaptability**
- **Connectivity**
- **Time and social processes**
- **Competing variables; vernacular and globalness**

*Table 2.10: Evaluative Framework for understanding localness of built form*
Table 2.11: Conceptual framework for understanding ‘maqamiyat’ (localness) of built form
2.8. Conclusion

This Chapter has provided an initial statement of what *maqamiat* is followed by theoretical exploration from the built form discipline. The notions of local, localness, locally responsive and local distinctiveness have been addressed to arrive at a working definition for *maqamiat* for the thesis that has been used to develop the conceptual framework towards the end of the Chapter. The purpose of this Chapter was to provide a synthesis of the literature reviewed from the built form discipline with respect to notions of localness, and to establish parameters and pointers for developing a conceptual framework. The second objective of this Chapter was to understand the theoretical basis of the way decisions are taken with respect to the built form and the value systems and the notions of localness addressed there in. The third objective of this Chapter was to review the theoretical aspect of urban morphologies and design qualities in relation to localness of built form. The last objective of this Chapter was to develop a conceptual framework based on the theoretical review from the built form discipline and to develop a design for the research along with a research methodology in the consecutive Chapters. This conceptual framework in then applied in the field and two case studies from Karachi are analysed in Chapters Five and Six. The objective is to test if the conceptual framework based on the review of built form theories is sufficient for understanding *maqamiat* of built form.

In the literature reviewed, it can be concluded that the most useful theories that deal with some form of localness of built form are global city theories, critical regionalism theories, place making, place identity, place affiliation and vernacular architecture theories. It is also highlighted that the common denominator in these theories is the concept of localness of built form, and they address localness via both the tangible and some intangible aspects of a place. These aspects vary from connection through urban morphological evolution, respect for natural resources, and respect for social norms, local economy and local climate, incorporation of socially local materials, technology in the building process. These theories deal with localness of built form in terms of authenticity, adaptability, connectivity, particularity, patina and connections to global processes and are helpful in analysing the priority given to different urban scales which have meaning for users, but these theories don’t delve in the meaning of the built form itself, as the users affiliate with it.
Maqamiat was shown to have the following main aspects:

- Firstly, maqamiat needs to be connected with the way decisions are taken about the built form.
- Secondly, maqamiat connects to certain prerequisites within the built environment.
- Thirdly, it needs to address the local tangibles like local material, local climate.
- Fourthly, it needs to link to the variable of time and social and economic processes.
- Lastly, it needs to address variables like globalness and vernacular.

In order to explain the concept of maqamiat, the different modes of production of the built form need to take into consideration the various value systems that inform the way decisions are taken. Broadly speaking, these can be divided between the decisions taken by government officials and politicians, the decisions taken by planners and designers and the decisions taken by every day consumers. The decisions taken by these actors also affect the scale at which the interventions happen in the built form. Thus, in order to explain maqamiat of the built form, both the intangible and tangible aspects of the built form need to be considered. Temporal aspects, which are the changing nature of the built form, also need to be taken into account too.

The urban tissue (Kropf 2011) and the urban components highlighted by Lynch (1960), within the ‘process typological’ and ‘historico geographical’ approach have been described as the methods to be used for the research as they embody the idea of type, social process and temporal aspects at various urban scales. The use of these research tools are illustrated in Chapters Five and Six.

Towards the end of the Chapter, these points were synthesized into a conceptual framework, which took into account the planned and unplanned processes through which built form is created in Karachi. It also took into consideration the concepts to be addressed to explain maqamiat of built form, inherent aspects of maqamiat and the components of built form that help understand maqamiat.

The next Chapter outlines the research methodology for this thesis, followed by Chapter Four, which aims to further develop an analysis about the context of Karachi and aims to adopt this conceptual framework to the peculiarities of Karachi’s context. The conceptual framework is then used to describe and analyze maqamiat of built form in Karachi through documentation and analysis of case studies from the city in Chapters Five and Six.
Chapter Three

Research Methodology

3.1. Introduction

This Chapter describes the research methodology used for the analysis of the case studies and the overall research process. An account of the research methods and tools is outlined with connections to the theoretical and conceptual frameworks. The theoretical framework puts together the various theoretical positions which have helped put together the conceptual framework which in turn weaves together the different concepts driving this research. The type of data and resources required to answer the research questions identified in the Chapter Two, along with a research method is articulated, which has been used to collect and analyse the data.

In Chapter Two, a deductive approach was used to develop a conceptual framework with key concepts related to three dimensions: morphological elements of built space, tangible and intangible qualities, and decision-making and controls. The key concepts form an integral part of the conceptual framework, and are used for outlining the research methodology. The deductive studies form a theoretical framework for guiding the empirical studies as a ‘backcloth and rationale for the research that is being conducted. It also provides a framework within which social phenomena can be understood and the research findings can be interpreted’ (Bryman, 2004:4).

In the Chapters that follow an inductive research approach is used where the conceptual framework developed in Chapter Two is applied to two different case studies. The objective of these case studies is to document, explain and analyse urban neighbourhoods from the city of Karachi for *maqamiat* of built form: 1) the historic area 2) the contemporary urban area; ensuring that the urban section within each of the case has public, private and domestic built form. Table 3.1. outlines the deductive and inductive parts of the research methodology, along with the types of analysis undertaken.
Table 3.1. Deductive and inductive parts of the research methodology, along with the types of analysis undertaken.

3.2. Amalgamation of deductive and inductive research approaches

As Bryman (2008) suggests, the distinction between deductive and inductive research is not easy to define, and although one is termed as a bottom up approach whilst the other is termed as a top down approach, at times research methods overlap between the two types of methods to produce data. A defining characteristic of the deductive research approach is, however, that it appears linear, with one step logically following the other, whereas inductive research can be carried out in many different ways, whereby a researcher’s view of the theory or literature can evolve and shift because of the analysis of the collected data (Bryman, 2008).

The inductive approach starts with specific observations, and moves towards broader generalizations and theories, whereas a deductive approach starts with general theories and hypotheses and moves towards specific conclusions. This research started out with a deductive approach, where in Chapter Two variables and concepts for *maqamiat* were set out, which in turn were used to develop a conceptual framework. This framework is used to
analyse case studies in Chapters Five and Six using the research methodology developed here through an inductive research process, to arrive at conclusions, which are transferable and contribute to theory.

The research is based on mixed methods, based on case study documentation and using qualitative interviews, observations, focus groups, morphological documentation, moving and still images documentation, archives review, space syntax analysis and analysis of sketches and mental maps, to ascertain the meaning of maqamiat.

A combined research method helped link up the components of maqamiat in built form, to the key concepts outlined in the conceptual framework to data collection and analysis (Table 3.2). The following types of data was collected:

1. To describe the decision making processes, the key actors involved, their perspective and the level of influence they have over the decision making was understood through qualitative interviews and a workshop with professionals.
2. To understand the morphological dimensions of maqamiat of built form, morphological documentation and analysis was undertaken, using case study area maps, mental maps, moving and still images and archive review.
3. To understand the tangible and intangible dimensions of maqamiat of built form, the socio-economic processes impacting the shape of the built form were understood through qualitative interviews of users of built form and through space syntax analysis.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Components of Maqamiat</th>
<th>Data</th>
<th>Research Method</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Power Structure</strong></td>
<td>• Decision-making processes about what should get built of the key actors involved</td>
<td>Qualitative Interviews of government officials, builders, planners, architects and users of built form Focus groups within Case study area</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Morphological Prerequisites</strong></td>
<td>• Maps • Visual Documentation</td>
<td>Morphological documentation of case study area Mental maps within case study area Space syntax analysis of case study areas</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Tangible</strong></td>
<td>• Maps • Visual Documentation</td>
<td>Moving and still images documentation Archives review</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Intangible</strong></td>
<td>• Social and economic processes impacting the built form</td>
<td>Qualitative Interviews of government officials, designers, planners, architects and users of built form Workshop with planners, architects, academia</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Contrasting variables</strong></td>
<td>• Global and local processes impacting the built form</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*Table 3.2: Type of data required to understand built form components of ‘maqamiat’*
3.3. Case Studies

The concept of *maqamiat* relies on the importance of meaning associated with the built form. According to Bryman (2004: 17) ‘social phenomena and their meanings are continually being accomplished by social actors’, and they are ‘not only produced through social interaction but they are in constant state of revision’.

The case study method is preferred when: a) a ‘how’ research question is being posed, b) the investigator has little control over the events, and c) the focus is on contemporary phenomena within some real-life context (Yin, 2013). Yin defines the case study research method as an empirical inquiry that investigates a contemporary phenomenon within its real-life context; when the boundaries between phenomenon and context are not evident; and in which multiple sources of evidence are used (Yin, 2003: 23). This method, according to Yin (2013) enables the researcher to explore the relationships between individuals and organizations through ‘interventions, relationships, communities, or programs’ and supports the ‘deconstruction and the subsequent reconstruction of various phenomena’.

In this particular research, the case study method helps understand the meaning people associate with the built form, rather than sweeping explanations about what is valued. The case study research design also helps in testing the hypothesis stated in Chapter One; that is *are places having localness more connected to the users’ experience of the morphological context*, and evaluate whether this hypothesis is endorsed or modified over the research.

Some of the other advantages of the case study method, according to Vissak (2010) are; better response rate than in surveys based on questionnaires, as people generally like narrating stories related to their everyday lives. The case study method is also useful for generating new theory as this method offers explanation of complex and dynamic issues. Vissak (2010) also points out that the case study method helps in grasping a holistic view of different perspectives. It also offers flexibility in sequencing, reformulating and adding questions and the researcher can work back and forth between theoretical reading and empirical data.

Urban design case studies have been shortlisted based on two urban areas of the city of Karachi: 1) the historic area 2) the contemporary area. The reason behind these case studies
selection was to explain the indigenous urban tissue of the city of Karachi and the reference that is made to it in newer developments. It was also intended to describe the maqamiat of built form based on the indicators highlighted in Chapter Two.

The historic case study area of Karachi (Figure 3.1) dates from Pre-Colonial times and is the area where Karachi originated as a fishing village in the 1800s. It comprises of narrow meandering streets with high density mixed land use. In terms of its built form it has a number of buildings dating back to Pre-Colonial times still surviving today, although many of them are being replaced by contemporary buildings. The boundary of the locality is defined by the Lyari River on one end and the M.A Jinnah road on the other end (Figure 3.2). The M.A Jinnah road is taken as an edge for the case study area as it was developed by the British and acted as the main bifurcation between the old and new town and connected the port to the rest of the city.

Figure 3.1: Location of case study area one within Karachi
Source: www.googleearth.com accessed 13-6-14
The second case study (Figures 3.3 and 3.4) is a contemporary area, which gained development impetus in the 1970s. It lies on the Arabian Sea and parts of it were used in the Colonial times to house affluent English men. Although it houses an ancient Hindu temple dating back to the 7th century and a Mausoleum dating back to the 6th century, and has some fine examples of Hindu and Colonial architecture, but development has gain impetus in the area post 1970s. Today it houses many consulates and institutions, thus retaining its privileged status. Recently this area has seen development of private housing schemes. There is also a recent trend of high-rise development within this locality intended to portray a certain image for the city. This was expressed in a presentation made by the previous Mayor of the city (GEO, 2012). The reason for choosing this case study was to understand how maqamiat is expressed in built form with inputs from various political interests (from a Colonial suburban development to an elitist locality housing people having political affiliations) over the years and in recent times. This locality also houses built form of historical importance (Colonial monumental structures, the Hindu Temple and the Mausoleum) and is undergoing rapid development. Two neighbourhoods within this case study area taken for detailed analysis (Figure 3.4). This selection helped understand how maqamiat is valued in areas that are in close geographical proximity but have different social, economic and physical setups, with one neighbourhood within Clifton being a low income
informally planned locality and the other being a formally planned high income residential area.

Figure 3.3: Location of two neighbourhoods from case study area two in Karachi
Source: www.googleearth.com accessed 13-6-14

Figure 3.4: Plan of case study area two showing the two neighbourhoods
The two case study areas are in close proximity to each other yet their built form characteristics are very different. The location of the case study areas is shown in Figure 3.5.

![Figure 3.5: Location of the two case study areas in Karachi](source: www.googleearth.com accessed 13-6-14)

### 3.4. Data collection methods

Considering the various types of information required to answer the research questions outlined in Chapter One, this research adopts a variety of methods to explain *maqamiat* of built form.

1. Morphological data to understand the evolution of the built form was collected through direct observation on site, archival review of maps, photographs, and drawings depicting the built environment.
2. The perception of *maqamiat* of built form was understood through qualitative semi structured interviews of different stakeholders- ranging from government decision makers, controllers, designer, architects, planners, developers and local residents.
3. Focus groups in each of the case study area were held to understand how the local value the built form and how they associate with it.
4. Following the case study documentation and analysis a workshop was held with professionals (architects, planners and academia) to understand how the concept of
maqamiat is valued by the professionals, and to take feedback on the conceptual and evaluative frameworks and case study findings.

The multi method approach for collecting morphological data of the case study areas allowed for triangulation of the data through cross checking the morphological findings with the findings of qualitative interviews of professionals, focus groups and workshop (Table 3.3) and yield results that can be analysed according to the framework outlined in Chapter Two. The consistency of findings was checked from the various methods used for data collection: semi-structured interviews of design professionals, residents and elected government representatives, focus group interviews with residents, still and moving images and urban morphological documentation and a workshop with design professionals. Since the participants in the focus group discussions were few in numbers, and one focus group did not have any representation from women, this data was verified by the information obtained from other sources; semi-structured interviews of design professionals, residents and elected government representatives, still and moving images and urban morphological documentation and workshop with design professionals. Furthermore, in Chapters Seven and Eight the research findings were analysed using the theoretical and conceptual frameworks outlined in Chapter Two.
### Theoretical Framework

**Decision Making Process**

**Concepts of Globalness**

**Concepts of Localness: Environmental, cultural and economic responsiveness of the built form**

### Analysis

- What evidence is there that contemporary built form is locally responsive in the context of Karachi?
- What design values influence decisions taken in the construction of built form in the contemporary context of Karachi and how do these decisions address the concept of localness?
- How do people define the local vs. global areas within their city?
- What built forms are important for them and why?
- How do people affiliate with the built form?

### How it answers these research questions

- How do people define the local vs. global areas within their city?
- What built forms are important for them and why?
- How do people affiliate with the built form?
- How do the physical attributes of a place- at different morphological scales- link to the concepts of affiliation?

### Methods

- **Information gathering through qualitative interviews which were recorded and later transcribed**
  - 30 stakeholder interviews: residents and shop owners
  - 20 professional interviews: architects, planners, builders, government officials and academia
  - 300 photographs (Appendix 3)

- **2 focus groups with 5-7 area residents**
  - Each focus group of 1 to 1.5 hour duration
  - Recorded and transcribed

- **Old maps from local government archives**
- **Contextual and mental maps**
- **Onsite documentation of land use, built up density, open-built ratio and landmarks**
- **Space syntax used to analyse settlements for physical connections to local areas and to main arteries**
- **Lynch (1960) used to document paths, edges, district, nodes and landmarks in each settlement**

### Medium of Inquiry

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>QUALITATIVE INTERVIEWS</th>
<th>STILL &amp; MOVING IMAGES</th>
<th>FOCUS GROUPS</th>
<th>URBAN MORPHOLOGICAL DOCUMENTATION</th>
<th>WORKSHOP</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Information on the decision making process with respect to the built form</td>
<td>Evidence of the typology and usage of the built form</td>
<td>Information about how value engage with the built form</td>
<td>Translation of information about the built form obtained via interviews into maps</td>
<td>Feedback on conceptual framework</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Information about how value engage with the built form</td>
<td>Information about what built form residents value</td>
<td>Information about what built form obtained via interviews into maps</td>
<td>Translation of onsite information into maps</td>
<td>Feedback on concepts of localness related to Karachi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Information about what built form residents value</td>
<td>Information about perceptions of the limits/boundaries of the neighbourhood</td>
<td>Linkage to interviews and focus groups</td>
<td></td>
<td>Feedback on research findings.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Information about perceptions of the limits/boundaries of the neighbourhood</td>
<td>Information about economic activity that is generated in specific built forms</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Information about any economic activity that is generated in specific built forms</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Table 3.3: Different methods used which helped triangulate the research data**
The following is an explanation of the different methods used for collecting the research data.

3.4.1. Morphological and Typological documentation

A mix of the ‘historico geographical approach’, ‘process typological approach’ and the space syntax ‘configurational approach’ was used for this research, to decode built form in terms of authenticity, adaptability, particularity, patina and connectivity; which are the indicators outlined for maqamiat in Chapter Two.

a. ‘Historico geographical approach’

The ‘historico geographical approach’ is used by geographers and conservationists to understand the heritage and cultural landscapes of an urban area. This approach was developed by M.R.G. Conzen and is focused on analysing the ‘geographical structure and character of towns through a systematic analysis of their constituent elements and development through time’ (Kropf, 2009: 113). If authenticity is defined as ‘originality, genuineness or entity which refers to the quality or condition of being authentic, trustworthy or genuine which help to identify and understand the value inherited within the cultural landscapes’ (Atik and Tulek, 2013), then analysing the physical evolution of an urban area in terms of the street patterns, traditional buildings, materials, ecology and changes in the built form help explain the value and meaning associated with different typologies of built form.

By overlaying historical urban maps, the built form that has been retained over the years is identified. This lead to the identification of retention of traditional patterns of space and construction design. The memory and associated symbols, if any, of these places and buildings were identified through interviewing residents who had resided in the locality over a significant period of time and have economic or social associations with the place..

Analysing the historical evolution of an area is important for creating a connection between the past, present and future. The ‘historico geographical approach’ helped explain the connection of the built form with its past, present and future through studying old maps, images and other form of archival documentation (reports and master plans). Old maps, images and other documentation was compared to the current shape of the built form to identify continuity and appearance related to places.

Time is an important element in the historical evolution of an urban area. As the meaning and physical form of spaces keeps changing and evolving with time, documenting and analysing
changes in the built form and the engagement of the inhabitants with the built form needed to be seen in respect to a particular time. For this purpose studying the chronological maps and documentation of the built form in the case study area were used.

The ‘historico geographical approach’ also focuses on documenting the particular characteristics of the built form in terms of form, façade and spatial characteristics of the built form. This approach helped identify the particular distinctiveness of the built form of the area that gives it uniqueness, its *maqamiat*, and that makes it different from other localities.

The ‘historico geographical approach’ urban morphological classification based on plots, buildings and streets (Conzen, 1969) for analysis of the urban form. However, in the context of Karachi clear distinctions between plots and buildings may not always be easy to comprehend, thus the urban morphology and urban typology studies, which look at the physical evolution of the built form in relation to time, become more relevant. One such study uses the urban tissue as the unit of analysis, as put forward by Kropf (2011). It embodies the idea of type, social process and temporal aspects at various scales, thus it can form an important analytical tool for analysing the urban area in Karachi.

As also mentioned in Chapter Two, Kropf proposes the analysis of urban form at various scales and emphasizes the importance of analysing the void spaces. Thus, the components to be studied within the urban form as highlighted by Kropf (2011) are as follows:

- Urban tissue/ streets
- Plot series/ blocks
- Plot
- Buildings
- Rooms
- Structures
- Materials

Although the above mentioned divisions may not exist in the context of Karachi at times (in the case of unplanned settlements) urban tissue gives a structure for analysis of the urban morphology as it comprises neighbourhood morphology (open spaces, building), functions (human activity) and the aspect of time.

In areas where the urban tissue could not provide a complete explanation of the urban context in terms of *maqamiat*, Lynch’s (1960) divisions of the urban context were used. As mentioned in Chapter Two Dovey and Ross (2011) propose using Lynch’s categories of...
‘paths’, ‘edges’, ‘nodes’, ‘districts’ and ‘landmarks’ (Dovey and Ross, 2011: 26) for developing theoretical frameworks for analysis of informal settlements. This method along with the other two categories described by Lynch (1960) were used in this research, because dissecting built form into components labelled as paths, edges, landmarks, districts and nodes along with the urban morphological approach as highlighted by Kropf (2011) provided a fuller analysis and understanding of aspects of maqamiat.

b. ‘Process Typological approach’

To explain the adaptation of urban spaces for different functions, economic evolution, social and environmental changes, the form, function and the context needed to be explained through mapping its intangible connection and association with the urban context. The process-typological approach helped identify the different typological components that make up an urban area, and create a relationship between built form and social, economic and environmental functions. This approach was not simply a study of the physical form and materials of the built environment, but examined the social needs that the built form addressed, as well as the socially produced knowledge arising from the interaction between the spatial configurations and social demands.

The process typological method focuses on the module and modular hierarchy. By identifying certain modular typologies within a context the development of the area and the decisions influencing the evolution of the area were analysed.

c. ‘Configurational approach’

The ‘configurational approach’ is based on research method developed by Hillier (1996) using space syntax software. One of the methods developed in this approach is based on axial lines, which refer to the ‘longest visibility lines for representing individual linear spaces in urban environments’ (Liu and Jiang, 2012). The minimum set of axial lines cutting across the free space of an urban environment constitutes what is called an axial map. Based on this map, and on the intersection of axial lines, the space syntax software creates connectivity and integration graphs. Local integration is one of the space syntax measures for analysing segregation of streets (Hillier 1996, Jiang and Claramunt 2002), and connectivity graphs show how well streets are connected in an urban environment. These graphs work well for ‘small urban environments in which buildings are visual obstacles and the space between the
buildings constitutes the free space in which people can freely move around’ (Liu and Jiang, 2012). Neighbourhoods were analysed within the case study areas using the space syntax method for understanding connectivity and integration.

In theory, connectivity describes the limit to which urban forms permit (or restrict) people’s and vehicular movement in different directions and integration is a measure of cognitive complexity of reaching a street. It assesses the cognitive complexity of the legibility of a street. In the urban design literature (Shach-Pinsly et.al: 2011; Mehta and Bosson: 2010) good connectivity of urban spaces is considered a positive attribute, as it encourages pedestrian and vehicular flow and avoids severing neighbourhoods. According to the literature, urban forms, which have low connectivity, discourage movement on foot and force people to take longer routes via cars.

In order to test this argument, space syntax software was used to calculate integration and connectivity levels of each of the case study areas. Integration measures the number of turns that have to be made from a street segment to reach other street segments using shortest paths. If the number of turns required for reaching all segments in the graph is analysed, the analysis is said to measure integration at radius 'n'. The street segments that require the least turns to reach all other streets are called 'most integrated' and are usually represented with colours like yellow.

Table 3.4 puts together the various types of morphological data collected and the methods used.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Morphological levels</th>
<th>Methods of collecting the data</th>
<th>Data Types</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Urban tissue/streets</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• Plot series/ blocks</td>
<td>Analysis of maps</td>
<td>Master plans, landscape, infrastructure, history of urban development</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• Plot</td>
<td>Personal observation- still and moving images</td>
<td>Photographs, drawings, landmarks landscape, infrastructure</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• Paths</td>
<td>Archival survey</td>
<td>Master plans and their evolution</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• Edges</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• Landmarks</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• Nodes</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Urban typology</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• Urban tissue</td>
<td>Personal observation</td>
<td>Photographs, drawings, types and usage</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• Buildings</td>
<td>Archival survey</td>
<td>Physical form</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• Open spaces</td>
<td>Interviews</td>
<td>Usage, function, meaning</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Buildings</td>
<td>Personal observation still and moving images</td>
<td>Usage, function, meaning</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Archival survey</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Interviews</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rooms</td>
<td>Personal observation still and moving images</td>
<td>Usage, function, meaning</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Interviews</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Structures</td>
<td>Personal observation still and moving images</td>
<td>Usage, function, meaning, detailing</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Interviews</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Materials</td>
<td>Personal observation still and moving images</td>
<td>Usage, function, meaning, detailing</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Interviews</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 3.4: Morphological Data collected for analysis of the built form
Table 3.5 links the research methodology and urban indicators to the concepts and indicators of *maqamiat* addressed as in the literature review.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Concepts to be addressed to understand <em>maqamiat</em> as outlined in Chapter Two</th>
<th>Indicators of <em>maqamiat</em></th>
<th>Urban Indicators</th>
<th>Research Methodology</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Relations of power</td>
<td>Authenticity</td>
<td>Streets patterns</td>
<td>1. ‘historico geographical approach’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Scale of built form</td>
<td></td>
<td>Traditional buildings</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Typology of built form</td>
<td></td>
<td>Materials and ecology</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Meaning of the built form</td>
<td></td>
<td>Meaning associated with the place</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Retention of urban vernacular to prevent creation of non-places.</td>
<td></td>
<td>Changing nature of place and association of people with it.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Economic and social requirement of working classes.</td>
<td>Adaptability</td>
<td>Form</td>
<td>2. ‘process typological approach’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Addressing local tangibles: climate, material</td>
<td></td>
<td>Function</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Analysing traditional patterns of space use, construction design and symbolism and participatory approach</td>
<td></td>
<td>Context</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Analysing Ecological and cultural diversity</td>
<td>Patina</td>
<td>Meaning associated with a place</td>
<td>3. ‘configurational approach’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Memory associated with the built form</td>
<td></td>
<td>Sense of history</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Concepts of Identity</td>
<td>Particularity</td>
<td>Continuity and appearance related to a place</td>
<td>4. Lynch’s categories</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Concepts of Place</td>
<td></td>
<td>Cultural weathering of a place.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Past collective and individual memory of a place</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Connectivity</td>
<td>Connectivity between the streets, buildings and neighbourhoods</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Global-local connections</td>
<td></td>
<td>Aesthetics</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Formalistic expression</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>paths, edges, landmarks, districts and nodes</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*Table 3.5: Concepts of ‘maqamiat’, urban indicators and research methodology*
3.4.2. Semi structured qualitative interviews

In order to understand the role of decision makers and different social groups in decisions related to the built environment, semi structured qualitative interviews were conducted. The objective was to understand and articulate the decision making process. The semi structured qualitative interviews provided a means to see the application of larger theories in practice. The interviews were conducted of individuals representing the three types of decision makers who envision space in three different ways:

- Lived representational space—giving symbolic meaning to built form—politicians, central and local government agencies and controllers
- Conceived Space—professionals envisioning the built form—developers, planners, urban designers
- Perceived space—consumers of built form using and interacting with space on daily basis—residents, business owners, transporters.

Seven local government representatives (six planners and one economist) working within the Master Plan Department and concerned with the decision making process of the built form were interviewed. Thirteen well known professionals (twelve architects and one builder) practicing in the city and shaping the built form were interviewed. Both the local government representatives and professionals were approached for the interviews via emails, using the contacts of the Department of Architecture and Planning, NED University, Karachi, where the researcher works as a faculty member.

A couple of participants from the case study areas were initially recruited through the contacts of the Department of Architecture and Planning, NED University, Karachi and then snowballing effect was used for identification of other participants, where the people who had agreed to be part of the research were asked to identify other people from the neighbourhood who would be willing to participate.

The type of data, methods, number and date of qualitative interviews as done throughout the research is documented in Table 3.6.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Type of Data</th>
<th>Method</th>
<th>Number of Interviews</th>
<th>Dates</th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>
| Decisions about lived representational space | Semi structured interviews of government representatives | • Six local government planners  
• One local government economist | Aug 2013 - June 2014 |
| Decisions about conceived space | Semi structured interviews of professional builders, planners, architects  
Workshop with architects and planners | • Eight main stream architects  
• Four architects in academia  
• One builder | Aug 2013 - June 2014 |
| Decisions about perceived space and intangible associations of people with the built form | Semi structured interviews of local users of space  
Focus group interviews of local users of space | • 30 locals from two case study areas  
• Two focus groups in each case study area | March 2014 and May 2014 |

Table 3.6: The type of data, methods, number and date of interviews

1. **Government producers and controllers of built form:** Semi structured qualitative interviews with government officials and politicians provided evidence to help understand how decision makers perceive space. The main objective behind the interviews was to develop an analysis related to the decision making process, considerations for social, environmental and economic responsiveness of the built form and the methods invested in to develop this analysis by the government representatives. It was also investigated if typo-morphological methods were a part of their analysis and methodologies. The semi structured interview questions (Table 3.7) were derived from the components of built form that were highlighted in Chapter Two in relation to *maqamiat* of built form.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Objective</th>
<th>Semi structured questions</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>Analysing the role of built form in the decision making process of the lived representational space</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>Social responsiveness of the built form</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>Environmental responsive of the built form</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>Economic responsiveness of the built form</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>What is the process of decision making when it comes to urban development in the city? What factors are considered and what is their priority?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td>How is the ethnic and income divide incorporated in the planning process?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7</td>
<td>What reference is made to understand the regional ecological belt?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8</td>
<td>Have any urban morphological or typological concepts been spelled out in the decision making process?</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Table 3.7: Semi structured questions asked from government representatives**

2. **Developers, planners, architects:** Semi structured qualitative interviews with private developers, planners and architects provided evidence to the theoretical frameworks and paradigms within which the practice of design takes place (Table 3.8). The process through which the policies and bylaws are translated into built form and the components of built form addressed, was discussed and questioned in the interviews.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Objective</th>
<th>Semi structured questions</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>Analysing the design process of the conceived space Is environmental, economic and social responsiveness in built form important? If so, is it important for only mainstream architecture or for sprawling form as well? How?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>What are opinions about role of Modernism and Post modernism as movements about their contribution towards establishing or de-establishing indigenous built form?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>What influence do politicians and government official’s ideas about built form have on the design process?</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Components of built form</th>
<th>Semi structured questions</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>4 Social responsiveness of the built form</td>
<td>How important is the incorporation of everyday activities of consumers of built form in the design?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5 Environmental responsive of the built form</td>
<td>How is the ethic and income divide incorporated in the design process?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6 Climatic responsiveness of the built form</td>
<td>What reference is made to understand the regional ecological belt?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7 What ingredients inform the design decisions? Does an analysis of urban morphology affect the design process at all?</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8 Climatic responsiveness of the built form</td>
<td>An analysis of vernacular architecture can offer climatically responsive solutions. How can these principles be: a) applied to forms of buildings other than domestic architecture b) used to come up with design solutions, which go back to basics yet are progressive.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9 Economic responsiveness of the built form</td>
<td>What strategies should be adopted to create modern built form that has roots in indigenous sources?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10 Economic responsiveness of the built form</td>
<td>How does the decision of built form respond to local economy?</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 3.8: Semi structured questions asked from designers

3. Consumers of built form: Fifteen semi-structured interviews were conducted in each of the case study areas (Table 3.9). As the neighbourhoods analysed morphologically had a radius of 500 meters, thus fifteen detailed semi structured interviews represented the way people value the built form well. The participants in these interviews were residents and shop owners within the case study areas, belonging the different genders and age groups. The objective was to gain an in-depth analysis of the perception of space by the consumers of the built form. The semi-structured interviews were accompanied by focus group discussion in the localities, which are detailed in the next section. Both the semi structured interviews and the focus group discussion were held in Urdu, the local
language. This data was triangulated by personal observation and record of the built form through still and moving images (Appendices 3 and 13). The questions for the semi-structured interview were derived from the components of built form that were highlighted in Chapter Two in relationship to *maqamiat* of built form.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Component of built form</th>
<th>Semi structured questions</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Social responsiveness of the built form</strong></td>
<td>Can you define the limits of the neighbourhood?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Can you identify in order of priority what you value most to least in the built form of your locality?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Can you narrate a typical day in your life?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Where do you gather as a community or as a household?</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>If you had, the choice of improving three elements of built form in your neighbourhood what would they be in order of priority?</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>What are your opinions about the materials used and ventilation and light qualities of your dwelling?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Economic responsiveness of the built form</td>
<td>Does the built form support your economic requirements in any way?</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*Table 3.9: Semi structured questions asked from local users of space*

**3.4.3. Focus groups**

According to the literature reviewed on research methodology, focus groups are a good way of getting information and views of a non-specialist group of people, that are members of community (Onwuegbuzie, 2009; Bryman, 2008 and Wilkinson, 2004). A focus group has been defined as a ‘way of collecting qualitative data, which- essentially involves engaging a small number of people in an informal group discussion (or discussions) focused around a particular topic of set of issues’ (Wilkinson, 2004: 177). As this research involved the recruiting of non-specialist group of people thus the focus group method was used as one of the ways to collect data.

As focus groups are thought of to be ‘less threatening to many research participants to discuss perceptions, ideas, opinions and thoughts’ (Onwuegbuzie, 2009: 2), as compared to one on
one interviews, thus this method was used to get information about *maqamiat* from everyday users of the built form.

In the literature reviewed focus groups have been mentioned to have many advantages, 1) they are ‘economical, fast and efficient method for obtaining data from multiple participants’ 2) the environment is believed to be ‘socially oriented’ 3) there is a sense of belonging as the participants have something in common and 4) they create the ‘possibility of spontaneous responses’ (Onwuegbuzie, 2009: 2). Poor planning of the focus group can however lead to biased results.

For this research, one focus group was held in each of the case study areas and 20-25 participants were invited forming a representative cross section of the case study area. Out of the 20-25 invitations sent out it was expected that at least 50% of the invited people would participate. The participants recruited from the community all belonged to diverse occupations, different age groups and income levels. In the first case study area four people took part in the focus group and in the second case study area five people took part in the focus group. It was realized later by the researcher that participants are reluctant to be a part of such focus groups, because these areas have strong political associations, and people are uncomfortable in being a part of any exercise that is not initiated by the members of particular political representation. There is also the issue of *pardah* (veil) in certain communities, with Generalabad being one of them, where women are not allowed to be a part of the public space and are meant to stay indoors. The women within this community are kept away from the public life and decisions about the built form are taken by the men of the area. The women are not allowed to socialize with women belonging to other communities on a public platform. Thus, there was no representation by women in the focus group held in Generalabad. The focus group interviews were held after the semi-structured interviews within the locality. The results of these interviews were analysed before conducting the focus group discussions, thus the focus groups were a way of validating the information obtained in the semi-structured interviews. Realizing that the participation in the focus groups was minimal, the findings of the semi-structured interviews were triangulated through still and moving images and urban morphological documentation of the case study areas.

The focus groups were held in Urdu and the objectives of the research were communicated initially. Urdu was used because that is the only language that the participants could
understand, as many of them had never been to formal schools. Discussions were planned around the following themes:

- Definition of the limits of neighbourhood
- Identification of built form elements which with the consumers associate some kind of meaning
- Mapping of individual and communal activities
- Sense of ownership and belonging associated with the built form

As the objective behind the focus groups was to gain a fuller analysis of the life demands of the participants and the level to which they engage and interact with the built environment, alternate tools like visual presentations and mind maps were used to gather information.

The location and venues of the focus groups were community offices within the case study areas. Each focus group lasted for one and half hours. The venues were available for a long stretch of time without distraction and recording and projecting facilities were arranged along with snacks. A scribe was also present for taking notes during the focus group. Out of the five participants of Generalabad, there were four older men and a teenager. One of the participants of this focus group was the head of the local community organization, the other was a senior member of this organization, and the rest of the three were residents of the area. As mentioned previously, because of privacy issues and social conditions women of the community were not allowed to participate in the focus group.

In the other case study area (Old Town) out of the four participants of the focus group one was the secretary of the local community organization, the other was the Chairman of the local community organization, one was a shop owner and the fourth participant was a female resident.

At the start of the focus groups, the contact details of all the participants were noted down and the area of study, its objectives and outcomes were explained in Urdu. The researcher also introduced herself to the participants of the focus groups.
3.4.4. Personal observation

The case study areas were photographed and video recorded to capture the localities characteristics of the built form. The images were analysed for social, environmental and economic responsiveness of the built form (Appendix 3). The personal observations in each of the case study areas were recorded in a notebook, which was maintained over the research period to spot any changes or new development about the built form. The notebook recorded the researcher’s descriptions, depiction, experience and perceptions through sketches and field notes (Appendix 4). It brought together the information gathered in each of the case study areas by word of mouth.

3.4.5. Archival review

The following archives were reviewed as part of this research:

Maps and Photographs

King’s (2004) analysis of the link between the ‘systems of nomenclature’ used on a map and ‘social and political power’ states that names of localities and what is marked or left unmarked on a map tells a map reader about the ‘what the producers of the map believe to be socially, politically or historically significant: just as what is omitted renders invisible what they assume is of little importance’ (King, 2004:142). King (2004) also mentions the importance of studying ‘thoroughfares’ and ‘shape, direction and width’ of ‘thoroughfares’ and plots to gain a better analysis of the social and cultural set ups (King, 2004:142). Thus, a review of dated maps and photographs was undertaken, that helped explain the morphological and built form evolution of the case study areas. Most of the information about the institutional buildings in the city of Karachi was available in the form of design briefs, developed by architects and government officials, seminar proceedings or in local journal articles critically evaluating the built form. The maps of individual buildings and some photographic documentation were available from the archives of local government libraries like the Karachi Municipal Cooperation (KMC) and City District Government Karachi (CDGK) libraries. The data was scattered and has not been catalogued or developed by any institution as bibliographic referencing material.

Some books (Khor and Mooraj, 2010; Baille, 1997; Hasan, 1999) were readily available which document the historical and urban planning evolution of the city and have parts written on the architecture of the city, but this literature is descriptive and does not critically examine
or link the evolution of the built form morphology with the political, social, economic or institutional events within the city.

The other form of literature written mostly by architects, planners and historians focuses more on the demographic, social, economic evolution of the city of Karachi in a descriptive style (Lari, 2000; Hasan, 1999; Lari, 1997). This literature documents the urban development of the city.

### 3.4.5. Workshop presentation

The case study findings (Chapters Five and Six) were presented before a group of architects and planners and their feedback was taken on the topic of research, conceptual framework, and findings. A group of professional architects and planners was invited to the workshop via email and telephone (25 professionals were invited). A paper was emailed to the participants beforehand, outlining the research objectives and research questions. The workshop was held at the Department of Architecture and Planning, NED University of Engineering and Technology, Karachi on 24th April 2015.

A twenty-minute presentation was initially made by the researcher, followed by a discussion. This workshop helped in triangulating the data collected on site. The analysis and feedback of the workshop is part of Chapter Seven.

### 3.5. Methods for interpreting the data

The data gathered through the research methods outlined above was interpreted through content, narrative and focus group analyses using NVIVO software. These are established methods that rely on coding of the data according to themes (Bryman, 2004). Coding is a method of analysing the data in which the researcher annotates the data and then identifies similarities, peculiarities and areas of interest tying in with the research objectives, research questions and conceptual framework (Appendix 9).

The following methods were used to analyse and interpret the qualitative data:

#### 3.5.1. Content analysis

‘Content analysis facilitates the production of core constructs from textual data through a systematic method of reduction and analysis’ (Priest, Roberts, et al., 2002:36). The aim is to
develop emergent themes through establishing categories that can lead to generation of ideas. This is a reliable method of analysing qualitative data as coding decisions can be revisited to check their reliability and applicability over time (Bryman, 2008). Thus, it was used to analyse qualitative data collected through morphological, moving and still images documentation. Mental maps were made onsite. As the participants could not read the maps the researcher assisted them in marking the limits of the neighbourhood as perceived by them, and the significant built form on the maps. Space syntax method was used to analyse connection and integration of the neighbourhoods (Appendices 6-10, 12 and 13).

3.5.2. Narrative analysis

The semi structured interview transcripts and workshop transcript were analysed through narrative analysis using NVIVO software, highlighting the role and perceptions of different key actors. This analysis is included in Chapter Seven. The objective of the narrative analysis was to understand the perception and value of environmental, economic and social responsiveness of the built form for different key actors. As ‘narration is a threshold activity in that it captures a narrator’s interpretation of a link among elements of the past, present and future at a (.....) place and fleeting moment in time’ (Sandelowski, 1991:162), narrators are usually positioned to tell stories which reflect the prevailing cultural conventions and have a chronological setting. Thus through narration this research gained ‘insight into the way human beings understand and enact their lives’ (Sandelowski, 1991:163).

A narrative has also been defined as an ‘unstructured, in-depth interview’ in which the interviewee is the ‘informant’ (Bauer, 1996: 2). According to Bauer a narrative has least influence of the interviewer as the ‘perspective of the interviewee is best revealed in stories where the informant is using his or her own spontaneous language in the narration of the event’ followed by a ‘self-generating schema’ (Bauer, 1996: 3). He further goes on to stress that story telling is an ability which is independent of ‘education and language competence’ thus it can work well in social research where the participants have low literacy. Thus, in the context of Karachi, where literacy is low, the narrative analysis was used. Narratives were analysed through thematic analysis through constructing a coding reference which focused on formal events and analyses ‘events, protagonists, bystanders, situations, beginnings, endings, crises, moral conclusions’ (Bauer, 1996: 9) occurring in the narration (Appendix 10).
3.5.3. Focus group analysis

Three types of analysis are proposed for data obtained in focus groups- 1) ‘constant comparison analysis’- where the data is put together through open coding, then the data is grouped into categories through which themes are developed 2) ‘keywords-in-context analysis’- where the purpose is ‘to determine how words are used in context with other words’ and 3) ‘discourse analysis’- ‘which involves selecting representative or unique segments or components of language use’ (Onwuegbuzie, 2009: 6). Onwuegbuzie (2006) emphasizes the importance of taking participants who do not express any views into account and recording body language of all participants.

Conversion analysis has been used to analyse focus group results according to the structure of discussion and its context (Onwuegbuzie, 2006). The findings of the focus group have been coded according to the perception of the respondents related to the environmental, economic and social responsiveness of the built form (Appendices 6).

Table 3.10 list the various types of analysis that were used for different types of data collected followed by Table 3.11 which is a revised conceptual framework including the research methods outlined in this Chapter.
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<tr>
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<th>Method for analysing the data</th>
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<tr>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
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<td>Analysis of different perceptions of <em>maqamiat</em> in built form</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Archives, local history and policy</strong></td>
<td>Archives</td>
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<td><strong>Semi structured interviews and workshop</strong></td>
<td>Interviews</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Narrative analysis</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*Table 3.10: Methods of data analysis (adopted from Choi, 2011 and amended according to this research)*
Table 3.11: Revised conceptual framework
3.6. Conclusion

This Chapter has described the method used for collecting the research data and the methods adopted to analyse the data related to environmental and social responsiveness of built form and its relationship to social and cultural contexts. The research methods have been linked to the conceptual framework developed in Chapter Two and the research questions outlined in Chapter One, thus the literature review forms an integral part of the research methods.

This Chapter also outlines the methods that have been used to apply the conceptual framework and key concepts of maqamiat of built form established in Chapter Two, to the case studies in Chapters Five and Six. The research method outlined here links the theoretical and conceptual frameworks to the physical and intangible aspects, production and consumption of built form. Thus, the research method firstly identifies the key decision makers with respect to the built form production and secondly addresses particular types of urban form by analysing the morphological elements and aspects of cultural engagement.

The next Chapter, using the method outlined here, applies the conceptual framework in the context of Karachi, to explain the way decisions are taken about the built form in Karachi and to describe maqamiat in the city in general at first. In the preceding Chapters (Chapters Five and Six) the conceptual framework is applied to the two case study areas using the methods described here.
Chapter Four

Analysing *maqamiat* (localness) of built form in Karachi

4.1. Introduction

Following the theoretical review of global cities, vernacular, place making, place affiliation, critical regionalism and critical vernacular theories in Chapter Two certain factors, parameters and concepts of localness were described. These were then related to urban indicators (authenticity, adaptability, particularity, patina, connectivity) and the way decisions are taken about the construction of built form, to produce a conceptual framework.

This Chapter applies the conceptual framework in the context of Karachi, to analyze the way decisions about the built form are taken in Karachi, and to interpret *maqamiat* as understood by locally practicing architects, planners and government representatives.

This Chapter aims to answer the following questions:

1. How is form produced in the context of Karachi?
2. How is *maqamiat* valued by professionals and government representatives?
3. What social aspects impact *maqamiat* in Karachi, and how?
4. How does *maqamiat* fit with respect to the global and vernacular in Karachi’s context?

According to the concepts and parameters outlined for localness in Chapter Two, the following main aspects were discussed:

- Firstly, localness needs to be connected with the way decisions are taken about what built form should be constructed.
- Secondly, the scale of intervention in the physical environment and the pre requisites in the form of regulations, by laws and master plans are important for localness.
- Thirdly, the local tangibles like local material and climate impact upon localness.
- Fourthly, social phenomena and processes affect upon localness, because certain groups of populations bring with them specific built form requirements and aesthetics.
- Lastly, variables of localness (globalness and vernacular) impact upon the built form.
Taking these aspects as the structure for this Chapter, it is divided into five parts. The first section describes the pre requisites defined within the built environment, in the form of Master plans prepared for the city, and the Karachi Building and Town Planning Regulations.

The second section describes the decision making process related to the construction of built form, in Karachi. In doing so it answers the questions, ‘how is form produced’ and ‘for whom is maqamiat important in Karachi?’

The third section describes the local tangibles in terms of material, climate and urban morphology that are addressed in the design of the built form within the city. In doing so, this section answers questions 2 and 3 above.

The fourth section analysis the local social processes witnessed in the city, the aspects of migration and gentrification, which the city has experienced, and their linkage to maqamiat. In doing so, this section answers question 3 above.

The fifth section analysis the variables to maqamiat with respect to global and vernacular forces, and in doing so, it answers question 4 above.

The data collected though semi-structured interviews in the field, of professional architects, planners, builders, government representatives and academia forms the factual basis for this Chapter, along with the review of planning and policy documents for the city of Karachi. A total of twenty interviews was conducted which included interviews of architects, planners, builders, government representatives, academia and economist. A review of the awards of architecture (the Aga Khan Awards and ARCASIA Awards) in the regional context of Karachi also informs the data, with the objective to highlight what is valued as local.
4.2. Pre requisites for localness

There are certain pre requisites in the form of master plans and existing built form within a city that set the agenda for localness. In this section, the morphological evolution of the city is examined with emphasis on master plans and the unit of design intervention in each of these plans.

Under Colonialism in the 19th century, Karachi experienced the introduction of ‘modern’, ‘planned’ environments based on western notions of ‘civilization’ that modified far more than just the social environment. ‘Colonialism was a means by which the metropolitan power extended its markets for manufactured goods and by which colonies in turn supplied raw materials to the metropolis’ (King, 2004:49). Placement and layouts of military cantonments, infrastructure development for easy transportation of goods, and the location of commercial zones were dictated by the Colonialists. The Colonialist chose locations away from the Old Town and strict planning and zoning byelaws were implemented with detached houses. According to King (2004), all this was in total disregard to the religious, social, symbolic and political meanings previously existing within the context. Although King (2004) does not mention the case of Karachi in particular, but his observations are valid for the city.

Thus, the city was divided between the native town, which had meandering streets, high density and mixed-use development, and the British cantonment, which had a rigid geometry, had separation of residential and commercial zones and was low in density with larger plot sizes.

Colonization of the southern part of the world by the countries in the North is at times associated with lack of continuity of architectural language in colonized cities of the southern hemisphere- but the truth is that even before colonization these regions experienced the importing of cultures which were adapted and localized over time. In the case of Karachi the Arabs in the 7th century, the Mughals in the 15th century and the Hindus in the 17th century, all left their traces on the built form. Some of this built form can still be seen in the regional context of Karachi and has been discussed in Chapter Two, Table 2.3.

The British prepared the first plan for Karachi in 1922, known as the A.E. Mirams Plan. The need for this Plan arose because of a dispute over land transfer of Artillery Lines and the Depot Lines from the Cantonment to the Karachi Municipal Corporation (KMC). The entire city was divided into Quarters- a unit demarcating each neighbourhood. This was the first
major attempt to survey and project land use and infrastructure development for the city. The plan was submitted in 1923 and became the first master plan for the city.

The concept of Cooperative societies was introduced as part of this plan. The housing schemes of these cooperative societies were taken up by government, municipal corporation and port trust in their areas. According to the plan ‘these colonies were laid out on modern lines, aesthetic effects being aimed at, and nearly all containing sites for recreation or for social intercourse. They were generally within accessible suburban areas, in strong contrast to the congestion of the city’ (Mirams, 1922). Thus, the concept of suburban garden city was imposed on these new areas, and the objective was to provide relief to the common person from the congested, filthy and over populated locality of the inner city. The unit of plan here was the ‘quarter’ with the old city being one of the quarters within the proposal.

The second master plan for Karachi, was prepared by Lt-Col. Swain Thomas in 1945. This plan identified growth corridors for the city based on prevailing trends. Marshy land on the periphery of the city was proposed to be developed into housing schemes. According to interviewee 6, 2014 this concept of garden city development was opposed by a local Parsi philanthropist Jamshed Nasserwanjee, because he did not believe this kind of garden city development to stem from the local way of living. The local way of living centered on high density, ground plus four storey structures arranged around narrow meandering lanes, whereas Lt-Col. Swain Thomas proposed a garden city in a suburb of the city planned on a grid. Because of strong opposition from many other local philanthropists, the plan was never implemented.

After independence in 1947, Karachi became the capital of the country and the first holistic master planning exercise was undertaken for Karachi in 1952 in the form of Greater Karachi Plan (GKP) (Figure 4.1). The growth corridors that were identified in GKP 1952 have continued to form the basis of the expansion of the city, and are a basis for the proposals for the development of the city in the Karachi Strategic Development Plan 2020.

In GKP 1952 the residential areas were divided into Residential unit (2,500 to 5,000 inhabitants), Neighbourhood unit (40,000 inhabitants) and District unit (2,00,000 to 3,00,000 inhabitants). Eight to nine Residential units made up a Neighbourhood unit and six to eight Neighbourhood units made up a District unit. It was proposed that 70% of the population would live in bungalows and terrace houses and the remaining 30% would live in apartments. Thus, the conceptual seed for a new built form typology was planted.
Strict segregation of land use was also proposed. High-density development linked by fast moving transport in the form of railway links and express roads was part of the plan. The number of population living in each of the units was based on the proposed school system, to create walkable connections between different parts of the city. It was also mentioned in the plan that the ‘well-developed community sense in the Muslim world and among the population of Pakistan is also a reason for choosing such large units, and these will constitute a good basis for community life’ (KDA, 1952: 54).

Although the conceptual undertakings of the Plan were relevant to the context of Karachi but due to political changes (the capital shifting to Islamabad in 1960), inappropriate database and lack of political will, GKP could not be implemented. A major contribution of this Plan was the identification of growth corridors of the city.

![Figure 4.1: The Greater Karachi Plan-1952 identifying the growth corridors](Source: The Greater Karachi Plan-1952)

The GKP was followed by the Greater Karachi Resettlement Housing Programme (GKRP), Jan 1961, for which Dioxides Associates of Athens, Greece was appointed as consultant. GKRP (Figure 4.2) proposed resettlement schemes to the East and North of the city, 20 kms from the city centre which were to accommodate the evicted population of the inner city, and also house the rural migrant that was working in the adjoining industrial areas (Hasan, 2000).
The concept behind the development of GKRP was to shift the urban poor to the suburban fringes of the city and connect them to their employment centres through rapid transit. The failure of the government to develop infrastructure in these satellite towns, led to encroachment on government property nearer to the city centre and informal subdivision of land, around planned townships. This was the beginning of the peri-urban or fringe lower income settlements of Karachi (Hasan, 2000).

![Figure 4.2: The Greater Karachi Resettlement plan- 1961 identifying the location of satellite towns](Source: The Greater Karachi Resettlement Plan- 1961)

In the Karachi Master Plan (KMP) 1974-85 there was a shift in paradigm and a new way of thinking was initiated where the government went from provision of built units to site and services schemes. The 1973 Plan had four units, on which the city was planned. One was called ‘Karachi Proper’ describing the city at the scale of the whole city. The second unit was ‘Karachi Planned’, which were the boundaries of the city to be planned until 1965. The third unit was the ‘Karachi Division’, which was the administrative boundary of that time. The fourth unit was the ‘Karachi Planning Region’ (Figure 4.3), which incorporated all the areas, which had an impact on Karachi. This was a very large region going up to the province of Baluchistan and parts of Sind. The plan mentioned that certain goods enter Karachi from
these regions. These links were meant to show that these regions were having a daily impact on Karachi. The division of the city into these four units and the study of the relationships between them showed that no matter how small a unit of plan is within a city, its relationship with the larger whole cannot be over looked. A conceptual analysis of this plan was that the larger vision for the city and its linkages with the surrounding areas affects upon its localness.

In 2007 a Karachi Strategic Development Plan 2020 (ECIL, 2020) (Figure 2.16) has been put together for Karachi. In this plan, mixed land use is encouraged for development, and high-rise construction is proposed for areas that have the infrastructure. This plan is still in its infancy and its impact is yet to be manifested.
The putting together of KSDP 2020 has been done differently from the previous master planning exercises as planners and architects were consulted and their comments incorporated in the development of the plan. According to professional architects and planners interviewed, the plan has the potential of being converted into a document that guides the development of the city, but there are many technical errors (inadequate survey sample, incomplete mapping exercise) that need to be addressed. The KSDP 2020 is a way forward for planners and government agencies, but to make the entire exercise beneficial the establishment of a planning agency monitoring the implementation of the plan is required.

The aspects recognized in the KSDP 2020 that address magamiat of the built form are:

- ‘Sustainable growth that is economically feasible, environmentally viable, socially and culturally acceptable
- Creating an inclusive city, social justice and poverty reduction
- Safeguarding quality of life, people are at the centre of the vision’ (ECIL 2020: 30)

The KSDP 2020 emphasizes the need to employ strategies that can steer Karachi towards having a global presence and at the same time address the economic, environmental and social priorities of the city. The strategies highlighted in the KSDP 2020 for achieving this objective are:

- ‘Strengthening the identity of the heart of the city and its high amenity environs
- Decongesting the area within the inner ring, by more efficient land use
- Promoting development towards the Town Centres, increasing the access to employment by disbursing economic activity to the new economic centres
- Providing infrastructure to overcome key constraints to the growth of industry and employment and to provide the poor and middle class with access to the employment thus generated’ (ECIL 2020: 30)

Along with the KSDP 2020, the Karachi Building Town Planning Regulations (KBTP) need to be fixed too. According to Dr. Noman Ahmed (Department of Architecture and Planning, NED UET, April 2015) the premise on which the KBTP is based is that by fixing individual units the whole of the current built environment can be taken care of. That is how the
building byelaws, building regulations and other frameworks that regulate the Pakistani environment are structured. There is no sense of collectiveness and byelaws or any frame of reference for the practice of urban design is missing. The byelaws are structured around the belief that if one house or an individual building is designed well the overall outcome is going to be appropriate and related. Thus, there is a need to look into the practice of urban design as a profession and to come up with a set of byelaws and regulation, which address the collectiveness of the environment in terms of building and planning regulations.

4.3. Local power structures and the production of built form

This section describes and analyses how built form is produced in the context of Karachi. As mentioned in Chapter Two, the production of built form in Karachi can be divided into the planned and unplanned (Hasan, 2000). Professionals (architects, planners, government representatives) term the built form that follows a certain path for coming into existence, a path that has been prescribed by the Karachi’s building and town planning control authorities, as planned (Hasan, 2000). All other typologies of built form that do not follow this prescribed path and spring up through other processes, are termed as unplanned by architects, planners, government representatives. Another distinction between the two types of built form is the lease documents: planned built form has lease papers with entitlement records, whereas unplanned built form may not have these documents initially, but may obtain these documents over a period.

Six master plans have been made for Karachi since 1947 (as described in Section 4.2) prepared for it, which define only the planned built form. The unplanned development occurs in the leftover spaces within the city through an unofficial process.

Decisions regarding the master plans and planned built form are taken by politicians, government officials and professionals (architects, planners, builders). Politicians and government officials are also involved in decisions about the location of unplanned built form, but the process is unofficial. The informal developer, who has the patronage of the politicians and government officials, is in the forefront of the unplanned development and is the unofficial representative of the politicians and government officials. All the participants within this process agree on financial settlements based on their role.
The process, typology and scale of planned built form are outlined in the next two subsections.

4.3.1. The production of planned built form in Karachi

Different authorities within Karachi have their own controlled areas- Cantonment boards, Karachi Municipal Corporation (KMC), Karachi Port Trust (KPT), and now defunct Karachi Development Authority (KDA). These authorities exercise development control over the land falling within their jurisdictions. Within the city, land planning and municipal control is fragmented into about twenty federal, provincial and local agencies with overlapping powers and functions. According to the Karachi Strategic Development Plan, 2020 these agencies include (Figure 2.15):

1. Six Cantonment Boards
2. Port Qasim Authority
3. Karachi Port Trust (KPT)
4. Defense Housing Authority
5. Pakistan Steel
6. Pakistan Railways
7. Export Processing Zone
8. Sind Industrial Trading Estate
9. Government of Sind (Board of Revenue)
10. City District Government Karachi
11. Lyari Development Authority
12. Malir Development Authority
13. Cooperative housing societies

The unclear jurisdictions of the land planning and municipal authorities results in ad-hoc planning as all the land owning authorities like the KPT, the KDA and cantonment boards today have the freedom to take decisions about land within their jurisdiction, although by policy as stated in all the Master plans the decisions taken by these authorities must comply with the larger Master plan for the city, but in reality it does not work that way.

The process of formal built form production in Karachi is summarized in Table 4.1.
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<td>2 Delivery</td>
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<td>3 Implementation and Execution</td>
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<td></td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>4 Operation and Maintenance</td>
<td>Identification of agencies responsible for maintenance and operation of infrastructure</td>
<td>• Karachi Municipal Cooperation</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>• Cantonment Boards</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 4.1: The process of formal built form production in Karachi

Although, in theory, the mentioned planning and execution process is carried out in the context of Karachi, in practice, according to a former Director of Town Planning, Karachi ‘this process is not adopted in our context. Public opinion is not involved; representation by institutions and others is also limited’ (interviewee 9, 2014).

According to Planner Misbah (interviewed in 2014) there is also a difference between the processes of planning, and the actual execution of the projects in the context of Karachi. For instance, master plans have failed to be executed in Karachi either because of the inability of the planners to obtain legal status for the implementation of the plans, or because of being based on an inadequate database, or because of lack of technical ability to execute the master plans. For instance, according to policy no development can happen without obtaining a No Objection Certificate (NOC) from the relevant Master Plan Department. However, because of
corruption, unplanned construction takes place within the city, which does not always comply with policies and regulations, outlined in the master plans. Thus, even if communities are consulted in the design process, non-compliance with the strategies outlined in master plans results in ad hoc developments, which may impact social and economic livelihoods.

4.3.2. Scale and typology of planned built form in Karachi

   a) Dominant planned built form

The planned built form can be divided into dominant and non-dominant built form (non-dominant built form described in Section 4.3.2.b). Government officials and politicians are particularly interested in the aesthetic language of the dominant built form because it is intended to portray a certain image of the city. Corporate, public, institutional and recreational built form falls within this category. These buildings and urban design projects are designed by architects mostly trained in the West, and some of this built form has acquired landmark status within the city.

The decisions with regards to the aesthetics of the dominant built form have been influenced by events which have shaped the city in a certain way: political change at the federal or local level, changes in institutional setups, change in economic policies or some catalyst social events. Certain watershed landmark events can be identified in the history of the city and their direct impact on the urban planning, development process of the city and the eventual formulation of architectural landmarks can be studied. Appendix 1 documents the construction of various buildings and projects within the city of Karachi and links to major political events and institutional changes in urban development. This table also captures a certain value system operating in the city over the last 68 years, since the independence of the country in 1947.

The following initial conclusions can be drawn about the lived representational space reflected by the dominant built form in Karachi and its prioritization.

1. 1947-60: Karachi as the Capital of Pakistan: Karachi remained the capital of Pakistan from 1947-1960. During this period Karachi’s architecture and urban design received importance with the construction of many offices, cinemas, theatres, hotels, institutional buildings and housing schemes. Some of these morphological expressions followed a ‘pre-existing set of principles of early/ mixed Colonial styles’ (Ahmed, 2010:198) (Figure
4.4) whereas others were influenced by the modern movement in their architectural expression (Figure 4.5)

Figure 4.4: Qamar House, Karachi- Date of completion: 1950
Designer: Naqvi and Siddiqui Architects

Figure 4.5: Beach Luxury Hotel, Karachi- Date of completion: 1948
Designer: Daruwala and company
The Pakistan Works Department (PWD) played a major role in constructing the image of the city as the capital of the state during the period 1947-1960. PWD was a federal department, under the Ministry of Housing and Works, and was actively engaged in developing an identity for Karachi.

The emphasis on urban design during this period, was limited to the design and beautification of open spaces and the designing of monuments for roundabouts.

A number of foreign architects were appointed for individual buildings and complexes through private and public commissions during the two decades after independence of the sub-continent. Some of these buildings are cited in the literature on regionalism by Abel (2000) and critical regionalism by Tzonis and Lefaivre (2012), as examples of adequate response to climate, materials and economic realities. Abel cites the example of the Aga Khan University Hospital in Karachi (1994) by Payette Associates (Figure 2.2), and Tzonis and Lefaivre (2012) mentions the American Embassy (Figures 4.6) by Richard Neutra in Karachi, as an outcome of the embassy program of the regionalist movement.

Figure 4.6: The old American embassy Karachi- Date of completion: 1955
Design: Architect Richard Neutra
Source: Photo credit: Architect Arif Belgaumi, (Maher and Husain, 2014)
The individual foreign architects practicing in Karachi at this time chose to adopt different styles of expression, ranging from eclectic, to traditionalist, to mannerist. The Dawood Centre (Figure 4.7)- an office building- designed by an American architect practicing in Karachi, William Perry in 1960, reflects high order Baroque ‘which showed a turning point in the built form in terms of functional typology and aesthetic characteristic’ (Ahmed, 2010:200). In the Baroque tradition, this building explored form, light and shadow, with dramatic intensity.

2. 1960-85: Karachi as the economic and cultural hub of Pakistan: With the shifting of the capital of Pakistan to Islamabad in 1960, the thrust of building activity changed in Karachi. Now Karachi was not the capital city but remained the economic hub, and to a large extent, the cultural centre of the country. This was coupled with the entry of the Post-Modernist philosophies in 1970s fostered in the West into the local context (Ahmed, 2010). Buildings like the Karachi Arts Council and Habib Bank Plaza (Figure 4.8) were constructed during this decade. According to Ahmed (2010) these public buildings acquired importance because of their boldness, simplicity and placement within the urban context, as the typology of these buildings tried to reflect the desire of the society to project itself as the cultural centre of the country (Ahmed, 2010).
In terms of architectural typologies and trends in the built environment, the 1970s saw the evolution of many public sector buildings like the Civic Center and Awami Markaz (Figures 4.9 and 4.10), most of them taking references from the architecture of the Islamic world, with buildings raised on podiums, surrounded by shallow pools of water and incorporating designed courtyard spaces. These public buildings were a direct result of the nationalization policies adopted by the Bhutto government in the 1970s. The process of ‘Islamisation of modern architecture and modernization of Islamic architecture’ (Mumtaz, 1999) continued during the marshal law rule of General Zia Ul Haq. With General Zia Ul Haq coming to power a shift took place during late 1970s, when many government administrative buildings and mosques were constructed in the city with Mughal arches, domes and a style that seemed closer to Muslim architecture (Figure 4.11).
Figure 4.9: Civic center - Date of completion: 1980  
Designer: Architect Rizki

Figure 4.10: Awami Markaz - Date of completion: 1982  
Designer: Architect Rizki
The image of the city as an economic hub continued during the 1980s with the construction of many shopping plazas and hotels. The typology of the shopping plaza was inspired by Middle East and Western ideals and was different from the traditional linear bazaars of the city. The façades were covered with glass, which was replaced by steel cladding two decades later, an idea imported from the West. Steel cladding was thought of, by the professional designers, as the newer material representing ‘modernism’ although both the glass and steel cladding were difficult to maintain in the dusty and humid climate of Karachi. The shops were arranged around central atriums with lift and escalators easing vertical movement (Figure 4.12).
Figure 4.12: Building facades clad in steel in Karachi-Date of completion: 2003
Designer: Not known
Hotel buildings were mostly located in the southern end of the city and linked to the airport via a major road, named Shahra-e-Faisal. These hotels were in International Style reflecting the cosmopolitan nature of the city of Karachi, yet tried to maintain their regional references through the introduction of elements like *brisole* and arches (Figure 4.13) on the façade, or indented windows.

![Pearl Continental Hotel, Karachi](image)

*Figure 4.13: Pearl Continental Hotel, Karachi- Date of completion: 1964
Designer: Not known*

Urban projects in the shape of hospitals, parks, university campuses and exhibition centres were also designed between 1960 and 1985. Landscape design was emphasized in office buildings complexes.

3. **1986-to date: Karachi as the Economic hub of Pakistan** The most recently designed built form is focused on Corporate Architecture. The decision makers of the dominant built form believe that buildings clad in glass and steel give the city a certain image that fulfils the aesthetic requirements of the day (GEO, 2012). There is also emphasis on
urban design projects in the form of parks, recreational spaces and private housing schemes.

A new generation of architects and planners, mostly trained in the western institutions of planning and design, has been engaged with the recent building activity in the city. Their contribution to the cityscape have been the introduction of ornamentation and cladding on the building facades in the post-modern tradition (K.K Mumtaz, 1999). Most of these buildings do not use any architectural vocabulary from previous practices in the city, but are expressions of a global image (Figure 4.14).

![Figure 4.14: Use of steel cladding in recently designed buildings by architects in Karachi
Date of completion: 2007, Designer: ASA (pvt) ltd.](image)

In the last decade, developments point towards the emergence of a new culture of capitalism, class and consumption in Karachi. The aspiration is to provide spaces where some citizens can live securely within gated communities, go to malls for shopping and to food streets and bowling alleys for recreation and to parks for entertainment (Figures 4.15 - 4.16).
Images of these places are being used to promote the cosmopolitan nature of the city and to portray a certain sense of value. The decision to design these spaces comes from politicians and representatives of the government and the execution takes place via the involvement of design professionals like architects and landscape designers. These decisions, according to Anwar (2014), control social action as the new sites of interaction are ‘office complexes overlooking the Clifton Beach, enclosed shopping malls, golf clubs, Cineplex’s and vertical
gated communities which create distinction amongst the rich and the poor, and reshape ‘the subjectivities of the city’s residents’ (Anwar, 2014: 337). This process has resulted in the creation of spaces within the city, which involve importing morphologies that are not local in terms of landscapes, street networks and the relationship between the public and private spaces. The impact of these new morphologies is felt most on new urban developments, both on public spaces and housing.

One such recent development is the Port Grand in Karachi (Figure 4.17). It has been called ‘a place of consumption, fantasy and the reinvention of the city’s and by extension the nation’s history’ (Anwar, 2014: 339). Being a shopping centre and a food street on the waterfront of Karachi, according to the politicians, it is meant to serve as a model for future developments in the city. However, in its design, the Port Grand does not incorporate many of the informal activities that used to take place in the area; for instance the vendors selling fish and people feeding fish as part of a religious practice.

The Port Grand includes ‘a pastiche collection of contemporary Pakistani, Colonial and Hindu cultural symbols of diverse eras’ (Anwar, 2014: 340) (Figure 4.17). The point where a Hindu Temple stands is called the Temple point, and is a reflection of the state’s desire to ‘non secularize’ the public space and reflect tolerance towards the minorities. It is also a reaction of the middle class and elites of the city as ‘a resurgent and militant Islamist project that has subsumed Pakistan’ (Anwar, 2014: 340).
Figure 4.17: Images of Port Grand Karachi, Date of completion: 2011
Source: www.googleimages.com accessed 28-7-2014
b) Non-dominant planned built form

As mentioned previously, the planned built form in Karachi can be divided between dominant and non-dominant built form. Government officials and politicians take the decisions about the dominant built form, because they are interested in the aesthetic language of this typology as it portrays a certain image for the city. Corporate, public, institutional and recreational built form fall within this category. The non-dominant built form, comprises of commercial and residential walk-ups, high-rise residential apartments, low-rise residential units, large and small-scale industrial units, gated housing communities, and military cantonment areas enclosed within boundary walls. Based on the review of the Karachi Strategic Plan 2020 these broad categories are explained further here:

- **Purely Commercial walk ups**- These are ground plus four or five storied buildings with staircase access to all levels and housing commercial activities, shops on the ground levels and offices on levels above.

- **Mixed use commercial and residential buildings**- These are ground plus four or five storied buildings with staircase access to all levels, enclosed within compounds. The ground levels are mostly occupied by shops and the levels above have apartments. As a result of weak controls however, the apartments may be converted into offices or workshops (Figure 4.18).

*Figure 4.18: Mixed used commercial and residential buildings, Karachi
Source: DAP NEDUET Archive*
• **High-rise residential apartments**- These are ground plus four or five buildings with staircase access to all levels, enclosed within compounds and housing purely residential apartments on all levels. These buildings have elevator provisions if the height is greater than five floors. In such cases, the levels may go up to seventeen (Figure 4.19).

![Figure 4.19: High-rise residential buildings, Karachi](http://dhatoday.com/creek-vistas-apartments-karachi-prices-january-2013/ accessed 23-4-14)

• **Low rise residential units**- These include detached houses, row houses and semi-detached houses usually with ground plus one or ground plus two levels under single ownership ranging from 120 square yards to 2000 square yards. Architects are often involved in the design of these units, particularly for residences in higher income areas (Figure 4.20).
• **Large and small-scale Industrial units**- Karachi has many industrial zones. These are located on the southern and northern parts of the city. Most of them accommodate industries and housing for the workers. These buildings are usually ground plus one on large plot sizes starting from 1000 square yards. The Karachi Strategic Development Plan 2020 (KSDP) points out they the full potential of these zones should be realized through introduction of technologically advanced units, provision of the infrastructure, creation of three more industrial zones and cottage industrial zones (Figure 4.21).
• Gated housing communities- The gated housing communities are on the rise in the city with worsening law and order situations. These housing communities have amenities within the gated compound, ranging from schools, to grocery shops, clinics and parks, to minimize the requirement to leave the gated area (Figure 4.16 and 4.17).

• Military controlled cantonments areas- The military cantonments are built on army owned land (2.1% of the land of Karachi), based on the concept of a self-supporting community with provisions for amenities within the cantonments. These areas have very low densities and ample landscaped areas. The houses are ground plus one with plot cuttings of 500 square yards or larger. The cantonments do not follow the Karachi Building and Town Planning regulations and have their own set of rules and byelaws (Figure 4.22 and 4.23).

The bare walls which enclose these cantonments, do not add to the attributes of the city, and present a gloomy state of affairs. As they are high security areas documentation related to them is not readily available.

This practice of boundary making has reshaped the urban landscape and is a reflection of ‘new dynamics of exclusion and marginalization’ (Anwar, 20114: 337). The new built form, responding to the ‘universal rhetoric of growth’ results in, as pointed out
by Zukin (2008), the destruction of authenticity and the cultures that create urban diversity are destroyed.

Figure 4.22: Military cantonment housing, Karachi- cordoned off via a barbed wire

Figure 4.23: Entrance to military cantonments controlled via gateways

With an ever-increasing demand for housing in the city, the role of market driven private developers has become increasingly important for the supply of housing for middle-income households. The trend of living in an apartment on a larger scale first started in the early 1970s. As the families of middle and upper middle classes grew bigger, nuclear families within the larger joint families needed to move out to create more space in their homes.
Apartments provided an ideal opportunity for people to afford their own homes in a relatively quick span of time and at a lower cost than a house. Another important advantage of living in an apartment had to do with security, which was normally better than for those who live in houses. For middle and upper income families that opted to settle in Karachi for employment, business or other educational purposes, from other parts of the country, the apartments provided an economical choice of decent housing.

Karachi Development Authority (KDA) schemes were the first apartments in the city of Karachi. Apartments planned in the late 1960s up to early 1980s by the authority were well controlled and governed and sought to provide a balance between built and open spaces in apartment complexes. Later on, apartment complexes were designed and preferred over singular apartment blocks (Figure 4.19). Well-known developers were approached for the planning and execution of apartment projects. A major criterion for their quality and success was their rate of occupation.

Market driven apartment development was triggered by foreign remittances or capital availability for investment, and the idea of apartment purchase as a mode of investment. In the late 1970s, apartments in Gulshan-e-Iqbal, Federal B Area, North Nazimabad were being occupied. These apartments are located in the north of the city (Figure 4.25). As commercialization became viable, changes in land use started happening either as formal, permitted conversions with penalties, or as violations of land use. In the mid-1990s, land use conversions were allowed as part of the Town Planning Regulations where a certain penalty could be paid to allow, for instance, a residential low-rise plot to become commercial or become high-rise residential cum commercial. In the late 1990s – 2000, strip commercialization was allowed, taking into view the already existing large-scale land use conversions that had been largely illegal, hence formalizing them. This step, followed by the real estate boom, has now intensified the forces of market driven developments. Consequently, there has been an evolution in the role and approach of developers over the past few decades who built apartments among other projects. Supported by land use conversions, singular apartment blocks have now become a norm in the city. The quality of living spaces however is compromised, in particular, in terms of poor lighting and ventilation.
4.3.3. The production of unplanned built form in Karachi

The informal built form production in Karachi follows a definite process. As Generalabad within Kehkashan Clifton started out as an informal settlement (presented Chapter Six), a detailed account is presented here on the production of unplanned areas within Karachi.

Land is an important issue in Karachi and it is looked at as a commodity by various stakeholders; there is a constant struggle to acquire and develop land through illegal means. Around one thousand acres of government land is encroached upon for developing informal settlements each year. The net earnings from this land are shared among middlemen, government officials, local police stations, and local councillors.

According to 2012 estimates, informal residential development accounts for 8.1 percent of the total urbanized area and fulfils over 50 percent of the city’s housing needs (Hasan et. al., 2013). The process of informal built form construction follows a process, which is unofficial, but regulated by the government and is unique to the context of Karachi. The in-between and open spaces in the neighbourhoods are designed in a way they address the social requirements of these localities. Most of these open spaces are used for various purposes.
throughout the day. These settlements start illegally with encroachment of land by refugees, rural migrants or urban poor within the city or from outside the city with the informal patronage (bribery and corruption) of government officials and the police. A piece of government land is occupied and the occupiers wait for someone to come and challenge their occupation. When that occupation is challenged, negotiations between the parties take place and it is agreed that the government officials will receive a share of profits from the sale. A number of plots, sometimes up to 30 percent of the development are set aside for speculation for government officials. The local police do not receive a share from the sale of the plots, but the construction of a house cannot begin unless a set sum of money is paid to the police by the owner.

A sub-divider of land locally known as ‘dallal’ or middleman then gets involved, and is responsible for negotiations between different land claimants and local authorities. The middleman is also responsible for chalking out the plan for the site and for obtaining infrastructure services like water, electricity and gas. Planning is done according to Karachi Development Authority (KDA) regulations. Thus, commercial areas are laid out along with regularized residential plots on a grid-iron plan. A standard width of primary, secondary and main roads is maintained and plots for schools, mosques and playgrounds are also set aside.

A construction yard is also set up within the settlement, which is also mostly run by the middleman and provides construction material (mostly prefabricated building components) to the house builders of the settlements to speed up the construction process. The sooner the settlement gets consolidated the less probability it faces of eviction by the government. Houses are of good quality because of the technical assistance from the ‘thallawala’ or building component manufacturing yard. These yards supply the residents with concrete blocks, cement, aggregates, prefabricated metal girders and galvanized iron roofing sheets.

Initially, plots are sold at a low price and sometimes even given away for free, so that habitation may begin. The intention is for the development to take place as quickly as possible, so that the value of property increases. Consequently, people are pressurized into building at once. If a plot lies empty for more than a month or so it is resold to someone else and the money initially paid for it is confiscated. Thus, development takes place rapidly, and apart from the sewerage system, most other services are acquired by the settlement, in a four to eight-year time period. Land values in fully developed informally subdivided settlements
are almost the same as of KDA developed townships in the vicinity. This shows the strong security of tenure of these settlements.

Once the settlement has consolidated and obtained infrastructure, the middleman or local councillor (who also has a profit share in the development of the settlement) applies for lease documents to the concerned authorities, to ensure the settlement cannot be evicted in the future. The response, in the various Master Plans prepared for the city towards low-income settlements depends on the lease status. Generally the policies are focused towards up gradation, regularization and at times resettlement, especially if some kind of infrastructure development is being proposed on the land that they occupy.

Table 4.2 documents the various actors of the informal sector development process who play a key role in Karachi.
### Table 4.2: Actors of the Informal Sector Development Process (Source: Hasan, 1999)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Actors</th>
<th>Profile and Role- Originally</th>
<th>Profile and Role- Today</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Residents</td>
<td>• Refugees</td>
<td>• Urban Poor</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>• Rural Migrants- push/pull factors of gov. policies- agricultural mechanisation and industrialization were pursued simultaneously.</td>
<td>• Lower-middle class- those who have gone through at least one cycle of residence in the city. They are skilled labour and lower level white-collar workers.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>• In the case of pioneer settlements, the Very Poor- those who cannot afford renting/buying a place in an established settlement.</td>
<td>• Small business and traders-settlements are ready market areas.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Subdivider (Dallal)</td>
<td>Middle man:</td>
<td>• Organizers and heads Social Welfare Organisation.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>• Identifies both the plot and initial settlers for settlement.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>• Negotiates with claimant, local and party authorities.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>• Chalks out plan of site.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>• Provides services- water, electricity etc.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Claimant</td>
<td>• The government and various government agencies (railways etc.)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>• Clans/tribes to whom this land may or may not have been given to graze their cattle.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>• Individuals (rare cases)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Councillor</td>
<td>• Through negotiations as a gov official with the dallal, facilitates initial settlement by turning a blind eye.</td>
<td>• Facilitates the provision of services as the settlement is settled.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>• Builds voter base for next election</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Thallawalla</td>
<td>• Construction yard operator and owner.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>• Provides construction material (mostly prefabricated) to the house builders of the settlements</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 4.2: Actors of the Informal Sector Development Process (Source: Hasan, 1999)
The production of unplanned built form allows the residents to obtain land title on affordable financial instalments. These financial instalments are worked out by the middleman on the basis of financial strength of the low-income households. Thus, people belonging to low income groups are able to own a house within the city as the payment is not one time capital intensive. The breaking up of the payment into instalments goes hand in hand with incremental development of the houses and the overall locality. Within this process several actors play a major role, ranging from the land provider, to the materials provider to the building contractor to the services provider as mentioned previously. With time, the informally developed built form is a part of the planned area of the city. Professionals view these settlements as socially and economically responsive, because they cater to the low income groups.

Such unplanned built form has come into existence through different processes over the years. These processes have been documented by Planner Arif Hasan (2000) in his book ‘Housing for the Poor: failure of the formal sector strategies.’

It can be concluded that the planned and unplanned built form production in Karachi follows two distinct patterns. The emphasis of the planned built form production is on the finished product and the portrayal of certain value systems, whereas the emphasis of the unplanned built form is on the process of obtaining land title and empowerment of communities, rather than on the finished product. The connection to maqamiat of planned built form is more in terms of climatic responsiveness, whereas the connection of the unplanned built form is in terms of social and economic responsiveness. The built form in a low-income settlement represents local aesthetics and is a representation of a ‘typical’ house and is analysed in the next section (Figure 4.26).

4.3.4. Scale and typology of unplanned built form in Karachi

The unplanned built form occupies the backwaters within the city. It springs up on riverbeds, on the sides of the railway lines, under bridges and any left over public land. The land use is predominantly housing but commercial ventures also spring up to provide supporting facilities for the settlements like grocery shops, amenities in the form of schools, clinics and areas of worship (mosques or church).

The plot sizes vary from 60 square yards to 200 square yards. There are normally two rooms in these houses with a multipurpose court (Figure 4.25). The kitchen and all the rooms open
into the court, which is used throughout the day for socializing, playing and other family events. The majority of the houses are ground plus one structures with some going as high as ground plus four, because of incremental development over the years, which accommodates the increased family sizes (Figure 4.26). Concrete blocks with steel reinforcements are the predominant construction materials (Figure 4.27).

Figure 4.25: Typical plan of a house in a low-income settlement
Figure 4.26: Example of incremental development
Source: Hasan et.al, 2010

Figure 4.27: Unplanned low income settlement in Karachi
Source: Hasan et.al, 2010
The majority of these settlements have a gridded layout with back-to-back houses with formally designed open grounds being a rarity. As these settlements are located on riverbeds or along railway lines, the area around these topographical features is the open land, which is used by children for playing and by the elders for socializing. The streets are narrow, as the residents do not own vehicles, thus vehicular access is not required. The streets are sometimes as narrow as 4 feet.

The nodes where two or more streets meet become spaces of social interaction, usually supported with a tea stand (chowk) (Figure 4.28). There are also extended platforms in front of houses, which also become social gathering spaces. These are known as ‘chabootras’ (Figure 4.29) in Urdu, and although they have continued to be seen in the low-income settlements and old settlements of the city but they are fast disappearing from newly planned areas.

Figure 4.28: A ‘chowk’ in Old Town
4.4. Local tangibles

This section evaluates the local tangibles in terms of material, climate and urban morphology that are present in the design of the formally planned built form in Karachi, which constitute maqamiat. This section is based on interviews conducted with professional architects and a review of regional Awards; the Aga Khan Awards and the Arcasia (Architects Regional Council Asia) Awards.

In terms of particular climatic response to the built form the interviewees (architects and planners) supported the view that particular climatic aspects need to be addressed with regards to the built form in Karachi to ensure climatically responsive design. Certain factors like light, natural ventilation, natural landscape, views and privacy need to be incorporated in the design of the built form. One of the architect explained his design approach towards the climate of Karachi as follows:

‘To address the issues of climate our firm has developed three concepts for houses 1) Roof gardens which act as insulation and help keep the temperatures down 2) Thick double walls with calculated openings which provide further insulation 3) Chattris (over hangs) for houses or double roofing system which helps bring down the temperatures further. We are in the process of designing a housing project for a community where we have given vertical
courtyards where people can socialize and the very concept allows the building to breathe naturally. The communal spaces at various levels try and create a connection with the ground.’ (Interviewee 12, 2014)

In the works of well-known architects in the city, certain elements are seen being repeated which is their way of connecting to the local context. Certain elements, colour, texture, materials and forms are repeated. The trend is to use natural texture finishes, to avoid the use of glass as much as possible, to incorporate courtyards in residential design and in office buildings, to wrap the buildings around landscape, to have indented windows covered with screens to cut the glare and let the breeze in and to use locally available technical skills and crafts.

The interviewees stressed using the principles of the vernacular, whilst avoiding direct copying of solutions offered by vernacular built form because of various reasons ranging from non-availability of the same crafts, masons and materials. In response to a question regarding the localization of lessons learnt from vernacular built form in the region, Ghaffar responded as follows:

‘The lessons cannot be localized today because of a number of reasons including non-availability of masons, lack of understanding of materials, lack of expertise and change in query, population influx, high rise construction, change in planning because of change in contemporary needs like extinction of courtyards and advent of attached bathrooms and emergence of new marketing tactics, lack of sense of ownership in older areas, unsupportive byelaws’ (Interviewee 6, 2014).

The professionals interviewed were of the opinion that the old structures served as reminders of the heritage of the city both tangibly and intangibly. Therefore these structures must be preserved. The climatic solutions offered by the built forms within the old city were also considered responsive. The division and orientation of plots and streets, and the open-built ratios were considered to respond well to social and economic requirements of the users. Besides the built form of the old city, the bungalows built in the Colonial times (early 19th century onwards) were also seen as part of the heritage of the city by the interviewees. With the advent of the bungalows, residences became extroverted surrounded by landscape, as compared to the introverted houses of the old city. The trend set up by the bungalows was adapted by the then newer developments in the city and have continued to be a major part of the landscape of the city.
Amongst the particular qualities of the built form, pluralism in the sense of the various types of built form was highlighted in the interviews as one of the inherent qualities of the built form. The professionals were of the consensus that the pluralism of built form in the city of Karachi should be accepted and worked with. Some attempts were quoted in the interviews by various professionals where the architects had come together to define an aesthetic language for the city, but this had failed because of the various interests and decision making processes involved with regards to the visual appearance of the built form.

‘I believe urban design has to be about pluralism of skyline not about trying to make the city in a singular image- which is the Dubai and Shanghai model where impatient capital uses architecture as a single instrument to represent society. In fact festivals are the spectacles by which we represent ourselves in the public realm- not architecture solely’ (Interviewee 13, 2014)

4.4.1. Awards of Architecture

Two of the prestigious Awards within the region are the Aga Khan Awards and the Arcasia Awards. None of the professionally designed built form has received Aga Khan Awards in Karachi (to date), but a housing scheme named ‘Al Azhar Gardens’ designed by a local architectural firm Arcop (pvt) ltd has received Arcasia Award. The specific themes, which are recognized in the Arcasia awards, are localization and globalization, sustainable solutions, incorporation of green, low budget/innovative solutions, climatically responsive solutions, incorporation of natural finishes and local materials and the role of architecture in natural disasters. The Al Azhar Gardens received the Arcasia Awards in 2012 in the category of community housing complex design. Al Azhar Gardens is reviewed at some length here to connect the physical output of the design with the indicators of localness developed in the conceptual framework.

- AL-Azhar Housing Scheme

Al-Azhar Housing Scheme is a planned and formally developed low income housing scheme for a particular community. According to the principal architect, Yawar Jilani, the central idea behind the development of this scheme was to provide the community with ‘a place they could claim as their ’home’; a place preventing their future generations from being scattered into a chaotic urbanity of Karachi’ (Jilani, 2013). Thus the planning of the scheme was done
around developing a sense of identity for the occupants. The Al-Azhar Housing scheme spreads over 31.5 acres and is located in the north east of the city (Figure 4.30). The plot was purchased by a cooperative society representing this particular ethnic community and the development of the housing scheme took place on a self-help basis in 1996. The housing complex has a total of 1,090 residential units which are divided into five different categories; an academic complex consisting of 36 rooms and halls to be used as learning facilities, a meeting place or a training facility for community-based organizations; a medical complex; a department store; an office complex; four convenience stores located at the two main squares; twenty two small scale parks; library; reading room; two main squares providing outdoor space for socializing especially on festivals.

![Figure 4.30: Location of Al-Azhar Housing Scheme, Karachi](source: www.googleearth.com accessed 15-03-15)

**Memory, value, identity and sense of place**

According to the architect of the project, the key design considerations included the designing of the housing complex as a home for individuals and for the community at large. The expression of identity for the community was taken as the main conceptual thrust. Thus, the community’s ways of living, interaction, socializing and daily routine of attending the religious congregations was understood and the master plan was developed around it. The
incorporation of this concept into the overall master plan is explained as follows by the design team:

'These considerations have been incorporated in the overall Master Plan, and are clearly evident through the layered sequence of spaces leading from the public to the increasingly private; from the squares and gardens (chowks and baghs) to the clusters of housing (mohallas) and shared courtyards; to the individual open-to-sky terraced courts (sehans) leading into the private apartments. The routine of the community of visiting the Jamaat Khana, followed by a gathering in a park was key influences in the development of the plan. Hence the plan has been developed around a central core, a community centre, wherein the location of the Jamaat Khana (together with other ancillary public amenities, facilitates the visitors to commute to and from their housing units. This low-rise high-density scheme utilities the horizontal arrangement parallel to the communal spine and the housing units are grouped around intimate courtyards. The residents step out of their house into a verandah, from which they moves into a courtyard and then under a tree and into the shaded jali’ (screen) (Open architecture network: 2010)

Furthermore, each block within the housing scheme has a distinct identity to reflect individuality of the blocks. The development is divided into distinct neighbourhoods (Figure 4.31).
1. Garden (*bagh*)
2. Central promenade (Figure 4.34)
3. Residential units (*mohalla*) (Figure 4.33)
4. Square and places (*chowk*) (Figure 4.35)
5. Amenities
6. Mosque
7. Elementary School

*Figure 4.31: Master Plan of Al-Azhar Gardens Housing Scheme*

*Source: [http://www.nbhf.org.sa/pdf/br_1_AzharGarden.pdf](http://www.nbhf.org.sa/pdf/br_1_AzharGarden.pdf) accessed 23-4-15*

**Authenticity**

The designers of Al-Azhar Housing Garden realized that the people they were designing for were bound by a common ethnicity, culture and economic base. They also shared a common history. This cohesiveness, according to the principal architect Yawar Jilani, is usually hard to find in a metropolitan city like Karachi, thus it needed to be revered and celebrated through accentuating the daily religious practice. Thus, the daily path to the Mosque was designed in detail and the rest of the housing scheme was designed around this ceremonial pathway. This pathway passes through a park, which is used as a congregation space. A layered sequence of spaces leads from the public to the private, from the squares and gardens to the clusters of
housing (neighbourhoods) and shared courtyards, to the individual open-to-sky terraced courts (*sehans*) leading into the private apartments (Figure 4.32, 4.33 and 4.35).

**Adaptability**

Through dialogue with the community it was realized that design solutions based on utilization of passive wind and solar energy are the best option for this particular community, as they cannot afford heavy dependence on artificial lighting and ventilation systems. It was also realized that the density of the housing scheme should be kept low and adequate open spaces should be provided to enable cross breeze. The construction systems were to be kept simple to minimize costs and allow the community to control construction through small contractors rather than large general contractors..

Legend:

1. Garden (*bagh*)
2. Central promenade (Figure 4.34)
3. Residential units (*mohalla*) (Figure 4.33)
4. Square and places (*chowk*) (Figure 4.35)
5. Amenities
6. Mosque
7. Elementary School

*Figure 4.32: Master plan of Al-Azhar Gardens Housing Scheme with different areas marked*

Figure 4.33: Residential units (mohalla) within Al-Azhar Gardens Housing Scheme
Source: http://www.nbhf.org.sa/pdf/br_1_AlAzharGarden.pdf accessed 23-4-15

Figure 4.34: Images of central promenade in Al-Azhar Gardens Housing Scheme
Source: http://www.nbhf.org.sa/pdf/br_1_AlAzharGarden.pdf accessed 23-4-15
Figure 4.35: Squares (chowks) within Al-Azhar Gardens Housing Scheme
Source: http://www.nbhf.org.sa/pdf/br_1_AlAzharGarden.pdf accessed 23-4-15

**Link to regional context**

According to the design architect, Al-Azhar Gardens links to its context through the introduction of different design aspects and through the implementation of vernacular design principles. This is reflected in the quotation here:

’In some Asian cities I am not too sure how much of vernacular plays a role but yes culture and living patterns influence decisions. For example we have jalis (screens) and balconies in our building context- and I really believe that we were the first design firm to re-use the idea in current architecture after sixty to seventy years in Al-Azhar Housing complex. We realized that we value our privacy as a nation, which is evident by the fact that one never sees people using terraces of a house, which opens on the streets, even men feel uncomfortable using them. We want to be screened and that’s why we hide behind boundary walls, courtyards and
screens. I am not too sure whether that is vernacular or its culture. It’s a way of life and you got to respect that.’ (Interviewee 9, 2013)

Although the linkage of the housing scheme can be seen through the usage of these vernacular principles, the connection with the surrounding urban morphology is not there as the scheme is enclosed within a boundary wall and it is an introverted design scheme that does not visually connect to its surrounding context.

**Particularity**

The design of the Al-Azhar Gardens housing scheme is based on locally available materials and construction techniques. The post-and beam structures are infilled with both solid and hollow brick masonry and finished with earth-toned colour Crete. Local climatic solutions have also been implemented. The scheme has been oriented to catch the southwestern breeze of the city using screens (*jafr*) and courtyards. The recessed windows have been used to catch the wind and cut out the glare. The housing units have been set back to minimize direct sunlight and to maximize cross ventilation. The set back of the building facades also encourages pedestrian movement within the complex.

**Connection**

The entire housing scheme is linked through a central circulation spine based on the movement from the private spaces of the apartments to the public courtyard, gardens and mosque. This circulation spine weaves the design together and makes the housing complex easily permeable.

**Local-global connections**

The housing scheme uses a modernistic language based on geometric layout and contemporary building techniques. The local connection happens through the usage of traditional characteristics in the design of the spaces like the use of *jafris* (trellis), *jaals* (screens) and colours that belong to the local context.

The Al-Azhar housing scheme can be taken as an example of a professionally design built form, enclosed within a boundary wall, with a religious community as a client, taking precedents from the regional vernacular, and weaving it into a design scheme, that connects to the local context, both tangibly and intangibly, and takes into account global aesthetic considerations.
4.5. Local intangibles

As localness is directly related to a point in time, what is local today may not be local tomorrow. Modification in demographics is one such social process with which the association of a population with the built form may change.

The city of Karachi has experienced major changes in its social setups because of mass migrations. With migration and change in population a new value and set of aesthetics comes into the city, which has an impact on the built form and becomes the current local. A number of texts help trace how localness of the built form has been viewed over the years in the city. Texts describing the early development of the city see the old city with its meandering, congested pathways as the original built form having authenticity within the city (Pir Ali Mohammed Rashdi, 1982). These writing view the Colonial developments as foreign and a sense of contempt can be felt towards the over imposing Colonial structures.

These views greatly transformed with the change in population post-independence in 1947. Some of the texts describing the city from this era view Colonial developments as an intrinsic part of the history of the city and almost glorify this immediate past (Lari and Lari, 2000). Some of these writings also have nostalgia attached to them as they view Colonial Karachi as progressive with its Saddar Cantonment Bazaar, cinemas, billiard rooms, parks and cafes (Hasan, 1993). The pedestrian scale of the city and efficient public transport connections are appreciated in these texts.

Some of the authors also list the reasons why Karachi was admired as a city of the East. According to Rashdi (1982) the multiculturalism and moderate climate of the city were two factors that gave the city a distinct place in the East. Other writings (Kamal, 1995; Gurel, et al., 1991) use certain terminologies for explaining the built form of the city, with particular emphasis on the public spaces. Some of these words are no longer used in the vocabulary describing the built form of the city because of change in the morphology of newer developments. These words are chowk, chowrangi, chabootra, dallan, koocha and maidaan (Figures 4.36-4.39). Each of these words specify a certain type of urban space. These typologies are not found in the newer developments of the city because they are not valued by the professionals trained in western schools of planning and by the government representatives trying to design places like ‘Dubai’. Thus, an aspect of localness is lost and is replaced by other forms of public spaces and there is no replacement for them. This can be
illustrated by the promotional language used by an advertisement for a new housing scheme within the city (Figure 4.40).

Figure 4.36: Examples of chowk (left) and chowrangi (right) in Karachi

Figure 4.37: Example of dallan (courtyard) in Karachi
Source: Hasan, et.al, 2010

Figure 4.38: Example of maidan (ground) in Karachi
Source: Hasan, et.al, 2010
Figure 4.39: Example of koocha (back lane) in Karachi

Figure 4.40: Advertisement for new housing scheme within Karachi, promoting global features

Source: www.googleimages.com accessed 15-11-15
The recent writings on the city by anthropologists and sociologists (Anwar, 2014; Anwar and Viqar, 2014; Ali, 2012; Gayer, 2007) focus on politics within the city, the emerging political enclaves, boundaries and no go areas, civic reactions and the effects of these changes on the minority groups. Hasan (2014) describes the changes in the demographics of the city and its planning repercussions. This literature however, does not analyze the city with respect to the built form and at the urban scale.

The recent social process, which has had an effect on the concept of localness in the city, is the migration of Afghan and Pakhtoon population into the city. These are mostly single men coming to the city to earn a living. They live in apartments designed as bachelor pads as their families are living back in the villages. They are not interested in investing in the apartments they live in for its maintenance and upkeep. According to the interview of the professional architects and planners the built form in Karachi reflects the transitory nature of the people who live and work here. As people in Karachi are mostly in transit, and it is a city of migrants, the sense of ownership of the built form is weak. Karachi accommodates a lot of people and it is mostly commercial accommodation. The money people earn from the city does not get invested back in the city; they send it to their towns or villages in other parts of the country. On the contrary, when residents are permanently based in a city there is a stronger sense of association and there is willingness to invest in it, but that is not the case for many areas in Karachi.

‘I think sense of belonging comes with a sense of ownership. It depends on how much you own the place’ (Interviewee 13, 2014)

On the other hand, there are those who have lived in the city for generations, and the built form reflects that through processes, such as incremental development to accommodate the increase in family size. The informal localities within Karachi where the byelaws and zoning regulations are weak offer greater flexibility and adaptability in terms of land use. This adaptability is evident in low-income settlements where commercial land use is embedded within the residential areas incorporating cottage industries and other commercial interests (like a small-scale grocery shop) within households. This flexibility to adapt to social and economic requirements is seen as having an intrinsic value by the professionals. According to one interviewee ‘
‘There is an inversely proportional relationship between byelaws/controls and adaptability of the built form. The stricter the zoning and regulation the less options for adaptability’. (Interviewee 1, 2014)

The incremental additions to the built form however, can also become a weakness, as the city cannot plan for growth. Thus it is important to strike a balance between regulations and zoning byelaws. ‘This is naturally its strength but also weakness as it can never anticipate and plan for growth’ (interview Architect Mehrotra, 2014)

The temporal aspect of the built form has been given importance by professionals, and has been pointed out as something that helps in reinforcing aspirations and beliefs, as is evident by this quotation:

‘The importance of temporal parameters: I began noticing that in places like Mumbai the city worked not because of the architecture but because of how people used space and often occupied it temporarily. This sense of elasticity in space and also the incremental ways in which it was being appropriated interested me’. (Interviewee 11, 2014)

The temporal aspects were linked to the evolution of the city, culture and social setups, where a person is in the city and the nature of people who occupy the built form. These aspects have been termed as important drivers dictating the decisions of professionals.

‘Aspects of culture start playing an important role that is the history of the people for whom we are designing. Both culture and context needs to be taken in a very contemporary way. Aspects of culture gives a strong footing as it continues from one generation to another but there are also aspects of culture which evolve with time.’ (Interviewee 5, 2014)

In terms of the social setups, it is essential to understand ethnicity as it is related to living styles. Communities have their experience of living, which has developed over the years and needs to be respected in the built form design.

The social phenomena, like gentrification of built form, also impact upon spaces. Gentrification of spaces in Karachi is not a new phenomenon. It is evident from its history. For instance when the Hindus came to Karachi (in the early 19th century) they made their houses on the citadel, enclosed it within walls, close to the port. The working class lived outside the walled area, in Lyari to be specific. Within the walled city only a particular type and class of people were allowed to live. Similarly, when the British came to the sub-
continent they demarcated an area for themselves, which was a protected and segregated area, called the cantonment. This trend of having enclosed housing schemes has continued in Karachi until present in the shape of military cantonments and gated housing schemes.

Gentrification of public spaces however is a new phenomenon. With the pouring in of international funding, and the development of a world-class city vision, Karachi is seen as an engine of growth. As a result, a number of public spaces have been gentrified, allowing exclusive entrances. Some of these projects include the beach strip gentrification by development of housing and recreational projects, which challenge the equity of the city. Thus the meaning of what is ‘local’ today for Karachi has changed with the advent of this new value system based on a world-class city.

‘The present day culture of how life works is very important. We have a culture of cordoning off streets for security reasons. We have a culture where built form is surrounded by gates, high boundary walls and all sorts of enclosures thus the architecture responds to that. Society impacts strongly on architecture, we have grills on our windows, c.c. TV cameras installed etc. The shear concept of how do we protect ourselves rides our architecture’ (Interviewee 14, 2014)

These enclosed areas are mostly inhabited by the elite and the operation and maintenance is carried by Cantonment Boards or private developers. This phenomenon results in a segmented city and in order to achieve an inclusive city it was pointed out by an interviewee that the city needs regularization versus regulation with stronger enforcement of byelaws being the only option rather than simple planning.
4.6. Variables competing with localness

This section describes the variables to localness in the context of Karachi and analyses localness with respect to global and vernacular forces and in doing so answers the question ‘How does the concept of the localness of built form fit with respect to the global and vernacular in Karachi’s context’. The information for this section has been obtained through the interviews with the professionals (architects, planners, builders and government representatives) (Appendix 7) and from the literature review of writings on Karachi in local newspapers.

In terms of adaptability of a certain global image for a specific type of high end built form there is a consensus amongst professionals that the impact of this global imagery is limited to certain parts of the city. On the other hand the social impacts are greater and stronger. The requirement for a certain way of socialization results in planning for communal living around centralized courtyards. The global image adaptation is seen as more acceptable amongst high-income groups, whereas the middle classes also adapt to the global image, but this impact gets sifted through their financial and social limitations. The aesthetics however trickle down from the forms that the elite and high-income groups adopt in the city. The interviewees were of the opinion that through practicing what is good for society the effects will eventually filter down. Though the professionals may not be directly involved with a certain group of people in the society, the impact will be there.

‘For the elite it is all global, the local contact is zero and for the middle class the financial and social constraints limit them’ (Interviewee 8, 2014)

‘In a mixed economy like ours influences are coming and seeking change but people don’t have economy to accept new technology. Then there are certain areas where change cannot happen. Local will have to be defined within a time period. It will have to be differentiated from traditional and also from international’ (Interviewee 8, 2014)

The professionals interviewed linked variables of globalness and vernacular to aspects of identity of the built form, which in turn was linked to the aspects of aesthetics. The professionals raised the issue of identity in relationship to the ownership of the city, the country and the larger global village. Sustainability was also linked to identity. If architects start thinking globally for the built form, then sustainable built form gets marginalized as
aesthetics and materials start getting imported from elsewhere. These issues are raised in the
quote here:

‘When we talk about identity and architecture we must question if we are relating
architecture to identity of Karachi, of Pakistan or of a global world. It is important to see
where we see ourselves. Do we see ourselves as a Karachiite, as a Pakistani or as citizen of
the global world. This discussion leads to the discussion on sustainability. As the saying goes,
‘think about the world’. There is also a very famous saying ‘think globally, act locally’. So
the moral question is if you are being selfish and only thinking about ‘I, me, myself’ or are
you thinking about the larger good.’ (Interviewee 13, 2014)

Mindless copying of western images was negated and conscious design decisions that link the
built form to the local context were pointed out as unimportant in all the interviews.

‘Whatever you built you built nicely. I don’t think any place in Karachi should look like
Times Square. That is a different place. If Time Square has changed now. They have made it
pedestrian and taken away the traffic from it. It is a square with cinemas, restaurants etc.
Now they have made a Times Square in Shangai after bull dozing the old buildings. We need
to create this awareness in our clients.’ (Interviewee 13, 2014)

The general consensus amongst the planners, architects and builders was that there has been
the emergence of a new typology of the built form in Karachi, which is neither modernistic
nor romantic, but responds to the need of users. It is an indigenous modernity, which
connects to the local as well as the global.

‘For me the basic style is to be regional modern. It’s the new modernism. It’s not post
modernism. This is the regional version of the new modernism’ (Interviewee 7, 2014).

The interviewees also felt that previously there was variety and diversity in the built form
being produced in the city. However, today the high-end architecture has acquired a very
uniform aesthetic, which is not very positive, as the high end built form is an imitation of
global ideas, which currently does not respond well to the city’s climatic requirements.

‘If Karachi is as diverse in its demography as it is then how come the architecture is not
reflecting that? Most of the better architecture has a modern movement vocabulary, which is
trickling down but not in a pure sense of modernism and it’s a very locally defined
vocabulary. Fair faced, tones, cement and concrete tiles and wood. Therefore, it’s not
completely modern but it does have a modern look in terms of simple lines and look but certainly not in terms of the function. Therefore, I would say it’s a local new modernism. I agree with it but I feel it’s not playful, diverse and experimental enough’ (Interviewee 7, 2014).

Thus, the vocabulary for the built form for the city as reflected by architect Amjad is a new local vocabulary, which responds to the needs of the users and to the global aesthetic aspirations of the planners and government representatives. It is being called as ‘regional modern’(by the architects interviewed) as it connects to the local as well as the global. It has been termed as ‘indigenous modernity’ (Hosagrahar, 2005) in the literature reviewed.

There was also agreement amongst the interviewees that the global impacts on the built form in terms of imagery should not be completely shunned because ‘the question is ‘should architecture have political boundaries?’ We are a global society, it is reflected through our clothes, the technology we use, the cars we drive then why should we limit our architecture?’ (Interview 14, 2014)

But for architecture to remain local, emphasis should be placed on local materials, technology and on streamlining the global influence. ‘To deny the global image would be to deny justice. It is somebody’s dream that the media is projecting but that is seen as development. I am not saying we should be copy pasting here, but we should localize that image in our context and within our technological reality.’ (Interview 14, 2014)

There was also agreement that when a new material is introduced in the local context, it contributes towards development of technology and skills. Thus, by using new materials professionals are aiding the development of new skills and technology.

Private developments within the city of Karachi by individual builders was cited as an example of a competing variable that endangers localness of the city, because these developments are aimed at accommodating global capital and have total disregard for the local context, infrastructure and social and cultural assets of the city. One such development has taken place in one of the case study areas and is looked at in detail in Chapter Six. The government turns a blind eye towards such developments because they benefit via perks and cuts being offered by the developer. The impact of these developments must be mitigated through policy, byelaws and regulations in order to retain the authenticity of a context.
4.7. Conclusion

Karachi’s master plans have been exercises in developing growth directions for the city and in dealing with issues of infrastructure and housing provision for a sprawling city. In its planning history the city has sometimes been divided into quarters based on physical boundaries, at other times it has been divided into units based on population size and at still other times it has been divided into units based on urban scale. All the master plans have been based on concepts imported from the west, like apartment living, suburban living, fast transit connections. These plans have not accepted the reality of the city where a vast population dwells in informal housing and the plans propose development direction for formal housing only. This reflects the lack of acceptability of the pluralism of built form by the politicians and decision makers, and their interest in the physicality of formally planned and developed areas. The social aspects of the city, in terms of festivals, gatherings and other events, which represent the society of Karachi, are not given any importance by the politicians and decision makers. The professional architects and planners are also mainly engaged with the dominant built form of the city, with typologies like shopping malls, office towers, apartments, gated housing and beach promenade development that, in their view, reflects a global image of Karachi. The social, physical, economic or environmental aspects of maqamiat are ignored in these developments as they cater to the rich, are climatically non-responsive, are heavily dependent on artificial energy and are generally based on imported built form morphologies and typologies.

The Karachi Building and Town Planning Regulations lack a sense of collectiveness, in the regulations and byelaws outlined within it. There are no regulations or byelaws for the development of a precinct or a complete neighbourhood. The focus is on fixed individual units, mostly a building.

The fact that twenty federal, provincial and local agencies are authorized to develop land within Karachi with the jurisdictions of these agencies being unclear, leads to adhoc development within the city. A consolidated vision for the development, which takes into account maqamiat has never been formulated.

There is precedence in the city where the design of the dominant built form has been linked to the economic, political, social and climatic realities. The dominant built form designed by professional architects up until the 1980s is an example towards this and has been described
in Section 4.3.2.a. These buildings reflected local political thought (Colonization, Islamization), were ventilated using passive energy design, used local materials for construction and finishes, were not dependent on electronic vertical circulation and catered for various income groups. The mixed used residential buildings, incorporated social, environmental and economic aspects of maqamiat, as people belonging to middle-income groups could own shops and apartments in these buildings. The professional architects and planners of today recognize the role of this built form in creating a connection with different aspects of maqamiat, but very few examples can be sighted from the contemporary work of these professionals, which ascribe to maqamiat. The examples of designed built form that does have a sense of maqamiat is usually a single building, enclosed within a boundary wall and disconnected from surrounding urban morphology.

The social and economic aspects of maqamiat are important for the residents of the low-income settlements. They use locally produced spaces, which are unique to the low income areas and value the system of obtaining land title by paying for a piece of land on instalments. The formally planned areas do not offer any housing solution for low-income residents of the city. In the unplanned areas however, the process of creating the built form takes a back seat as compared to the process of obtaining a land title and other infrastructure facilities. Although the architects and planners acknowledge the acceptability of the pluralism of built form in the city and the social and economic aspects of maqamiat of the informally developed areas (as evident in qualitative interviews), but these professionals do not engage with the design and development of this typology of built form and their practice is limited to built form that caters to the high income groups.

The built form, pointed out in the interviews of architects, planners and builders, that is particular and authentic for Karachi was the stone buildings from the Old Town and the Colonial structures built during the Colonial rule. Although the Old city with its meandering, organic, mixed use, high-density layout was in complete contrast to the low density, sprawling development of the suburbs during the Colonial times, today both these developments are seen as intrinsic part of the city’s history by the professionals. Both of these developments offer adequate climatic response, as they depend on passive ventilation systems, use locally available materials for construction and address social requirements of the inhabitants. The Colonial built form, however, was initially (during the Colonial rule) not accepted as local built form by the people of Karachi, and was seen as oppressive. Today, the
reality is different and the bungalow typology (introduced in the sub-continent by the British) has continued to survive and is a model on which all new houses are based.

*Maqamiat* of built form in Karachi gets impacted by social realities like, changes in population and gentrification. Globalization impacts on the built form in the form of gated private developments. This is where a private developer, with the patronage of the government, constructs a building or a housing scheme for the elite of the city. This type of development is non inclusive of the urban poor and non-equitable.

The professionals interviewed pointed out the emergence of a new typology of built form within the formally planned areas. This was termed to be reflecting ‘regional modernity’, as it gets impacted by globalization and by local social, economic and technological realities. Thus, what emerges is a hybrid built form that tries to replicate global imagery but is restrained by social, economic and technical realities and restrictions of the local context. This built form has been termed as ‘local’ for today’s Karachi. The most common typology is the mixed-use ground plus four or five building, with shops on the ground level and apartments on upper floors.

It is important to identify *maqamiat* of built form because it is the result of years of social and economic evolution of a society, which gets expressed physically in terms of urban spaces. It generates a sense of identity for the city and distinguishes it from any place, as it offers particularity and authenticity. It helps identify spaces that are unique in a particular context (*Chowk, chabootra*) and are being lost in new developments. *Maqamiat* needs to be a part of larger master plans for the city, and needs to be addressed at all scale, from regional to the neighbourhood scale. The variables affecting *maqamiat*, like gentrification and globalization, need to be mitigated through policy, byelaws and regulations.

The next two Chapters look at the two case study areas with the objective of describing *maqamiat* of built form to identify the local attributes of a place and to evaluate how useful is localness and how can it contribute to the development of the theories reviewed in Chapter Two.
Chapter Five

Case Study One: Kharadar and Meethadar within Old Town

5.1. Introduction

An urban case study can acts as a narrative for explaining the pragmatic shifts, emerging urban trends and way people interact with built form. The objective of the case studies here is to assess if the concept of maqamiat of built form is useful for identifying and retaining the ‘local’ within the urban context, if so how is it useful and how can it contribute to the development of the theories reviewed in Chapter Two. The first case study is a historic area of the city of Karachi dating from Pre-Colonial times. The objective of this case study is to analyze what forms maqamiat takes, how has it been built, destroyed and modified, and what qualities are related to it in modern urban life? The evidence gathered here is environmental, political, social and economic.

In order to understand and evaluate maqamiat of built form it has been argued in the preceding chapters that the following five factors need to be considered:

1. Power structures and the way decisions are taken with regards to the maqamiat of built form
2. If there are certain pre requisites defined within the built environment and what is the scale of design intervention used by these pre-defined byelaws, regulations and master plans?
3. If local tangibles like local material, local climate are addressed in the design of the built form.
4. If local intangibles are appropriately addressed in the design of the built form and if social processes are linked to the aspects of time.
5. How does maqamiat stand in the face of variables, which impact the built form?

These five factors have been used to structure this Chapter linking up the research findings to the conceptual framework developed in Chapter Two. The Chapter describes and locates the case study area within the city in terms of its morphology and then goes on to critically look at maqamiat of built form as described above.
5.2. The urban morphological evolution of the Old Town

The boundary of the locality is defined by the Lyari River on the north and the M.A Jinnah Road (previously known as Bander Road) to the south. M.A Jinnah Road was developed by the British and acted as the main bifurcation between the old and new town and connected the port to the rest of the city (Figures 5.1-5.2). The Old Town comprises of narrow meandering streets with high density mixed land use. It has a number of surviving buildings dating back to Pre-Colonial times, although many of them are being replaced by contemporary buildings.

![Location of Old Town in Karachi](Figure 5.1: Location of Old Town in Karachi)

Source: googleearth.com accessed 13-11-14
The Old Town lies near the seaport, to the north of Bandar Road (M.A. Jinnah Road). The M. A. Jinnah Road occupies a very crucial location in the city. It has a direct connection with the Karachi Port, and lies adjacent to the Jama (Wholesale) Market and Paper Market, two of the largest utilities wholesale markets in Karachi. Retailers from all over the country come here to purchase products.

These materials are transported from here to other markets within the city and to other cities via trucks, pickups, car and auto rickshaws, depending upon the size and number of goods and where they are being transported to. The spatial character of the city of Karachi owes its genesis to the 'Dual city concept’, which evolved as a result of the requirements and attitudes of the colonists. It follows the pattern of formation and development of city structure manifest in those Indian states, which had been brought under the influence of the East India Company.
The native town of Karachi, which was enclosed by a fortification wall, was initially left untouched by the British and new cantonment areas, staff and civil lines were developed at some distance from the native town. These two areas of the city lay on either side of the MA Jinnah Road, which was the major connection of the city to the port.

The Hindu merchants settled in the city in early 18th century near the Kemari Port and traded goods across the Arabian Sea with Muscat and the Persian Gulf region that led to the development of the port and the city as a trading centre.

The British recognized the importance of the city as a trading port and annexed it to the British Indian Empire in 1843. The British developed the infrastructure of the city and built many structures housing civic facilities. They also developed and expanded the port, realizing its full potential for that time. This led to the expansion of the markets and commerce activities in the city and attracted various different communities to the city- these included the Jews, Parsis, Iranians, Lebanese and Goan merchants. Each community built living quarters for themselves according to their social and economic requirements.

There is no physical evidence of Karachi’s past before British conquest, but through history a few important sites can be identified of 18th and early 19th century buildings. The position of fresh water and salt water gates and walled city can be accurately identified. The area is now known as Kharadar and Meethadar.

The walled city was built by the people of the Kalhora dynasty who came to establish a trade centre at Karachi from Kharak Bandar (the port of Kharak) in 1779. At that time it was known as Kolachi Jo Goth (the village of Karachi) comprising of 25 huts of fishermen. In late 18th century Karachi came under the domain of Talpurs (Mirs of the province of Sindh) and was ruled by them collectively till the British conquest. The first population census was conducted under the Talpurs and was stated as 13000 persons in early 18th century (Hasan, 1999). Under their rule the port of Karachi was a busy trade centre for the overseas trade and the regions to the northwest.

We can see the emergence of Bandar road (now M.A Jinnah road) which connects the city with the port and also the Old Town that is the native town and the new town where British resided during the Talpur rule during the 18th century. The British officially captured Karachi
in 1839. The Old Town was confined within its walls up until 1843. The British army stationed themselves about one and a half miles to the east of town near the tram depot (now removed).

The expansion of transport facilities and port related functions gave rise to the commercial activity within the city, which led to many migrants coming into the city. With the development of infrastructure, merchant classes from other cities came to settle in close proximity to the port. These people settled within the old city and were mostly Lohana, Bhattia, Memon and Bohra classes of merchants. By this time the Old Town area was getting more and more congested due to its closeness to the port resulting in unhygienic conditions for living. The British government tried to improve the conditions by introducing various proposals for uplifting of the locality but failed. Meanwhile a few wealthy businessmen sighted the opportunity to build flats for renting in close proximity to MA Jinnah Road. Many of these buildings still survive and form a part of the morphology of the case study area.

The centralization of commerce in Bandar quarter and the expansion of port functions after the opening of Suez Canal in 1869, intensified the development of the Old Town and the surrounding areas. Many residential buildings were changed into shops, warehouses, and stores due to the opening of Indus Valley Railway which brought grains to Karachi and which needed to be stored nearby. People started to move out due to the epidemics of plague and the construction of commercial buildings started exceeding the residential buildings.

Initially for the British, there existed only two divisions, the Old Town and the new town (Figure 5.3), with the new town containing the Cantonment, the British camp and its bazaar. Karachi was divided into quarters by the Colonists. The Old Town was divided into Old Town quarters, Market quarters and Bunder quarter. The increase in the number of quarters was due to the increase of port activity resulting in the economic prosperity, which caused the migration of merchant population from Bombay. The migration of merchants from Bombay required residential as well as commercial setup, which increased the overall density of the city. Hence, the quarters developed later were residential. M.A Jinnah served as a datum for the entire city. Later the British divided the city into wards for better control.
The area, which was designated as Old Town quarter, Market quarter and Bunder quarter, forms a part of this research (Figure 5.4). This area is known as Kharadar and Meethadar today, part of Kharadar and whole of Meethadar are part of the first case study.
The Old Town quarter, also known as the Native quarter, is chronologically the oldest section of Karachi. It is on a slight elevation from the surrounding plain, possibly due to the erection of new houses on old plains, and was formally known as the walled city, which was later removed by the British. Today it houses six mosques, one temple and four small shrines. It had an infrastructure of its own before the British came. It was surrounded by a fortification wall, which had two entrances known as the Kharadar (gate facing the Arabian Sea) and Meethadar (gate facing the Lyari River). It also houses a wholesale market for cloth.

The Market quarter was initially an extension of the Old quarter and had an organic and unplanned pattern. Later it was regulated in a grid pattern and annexed by Sir Bartle Frere in 1840s. The Market quarter was named after vegetables, fish and mutton market in place, which developed into the Bolton Market. The Bolton Market still functions as a fresh fruit and vegetable market. Today the quarter houses four mosques, one temple and three mausoleums. There were several wells in this quarter, which are no longer there.

The Bunder quarter was named after the Bunder Road (now MA Jinnah Road). It houses the city’s first police station, which still functions, two mosques and one shrine.

A number of buildings can be observed within the locality and its immediate context that were constructed during the Colonial period and acquired landmark status, and continue to be important built form within the area. These buildings dot both sides of MA Jinnah Road (Figure 5.5).
The introverted Hindu *ghar* (house) was part of the indigenous mixed-use development that evolved as a response to social, economic and climatic needs of the merchant class in the Old Town. In studying the evolution of this typology of built form lessons can be drawn with respect to urban morphology, sense of aesthetics, climatic response, use of technology, and respect for traditionalism versus modernism and are discussed in the next section.

The population density of Old Town has been recorded at 280 people per acre (Lari and Lari 2000, 98) as compared to Colonial neighbourhood’s density in Karachi of 1 person per acre. The old city grew organically with narrow streets and small semi-public, semi-private spaces contained within mud brick architecture.

Commercial and residential buildings and places of worship were intermixed in the Old Town and provided the residents with convenient access to places of work and worship. The city was divided into *mohallahs* (neighbourhoods), where *masjids* (mosques) and Hindu temples acted as the foci, while the *Jumma bazaar* (Friday market) held the central position of the city.

The Hindu house, within the old city, was oriented towards the central courtyard that grew vertically in an incremental fashion and was flanked by other houses on either side. It was a simple flat roof, windowless structure employing construction system based on a frame of heavy wooden logs upon which short, interlaced wooden strips were placed to receive a thick...
layer of mud plaster (Lari and Lari 2000, 184). Many wind catchers dominated the skyline of the Old Town. These acted both as wind sails and skylight (Figures 5.6 and 5.7). The flat roofs were used for sleeping and socializing during evening and nighttime. Many a times the ground floor housed shops owned by the Hindu Merchants whose family occupied the apartments on the upper levels.

Figure 5.6: The old fort at Karachi, old sketch from the 1830's showing the fortification wall and entrance gate  
Figure 5.7: Wind catcher on a building in Karachi

Figure 5.8: Shops on ground floor and apartments on upper levels within the old city of Karachi dating from early 19th century
This introverted house prototype was also adapted for apartment buildings, for native communities of the sub-continent, which were developed within the city at a later date (Figure 5.8). The housing typology, developed by Hindu merchants, within the Old Town were mostly apartment buildings with apartments clustered around internal courtyards, each apartment under single ownership (Figure 5.9). The building height went up to ground plus two floors, thus the courtyard received light throughout the day and became a pleasant socializing space. Each apartment had a covered area of 80 square feet with projecting balconies for maximum ventilation. The ground floor of the apartment building was used for commercial purposes and a mezzanine floor was provided for storage and offices.

![Figure 5.9: Plan of a typical apartment building in the Old Town that still survives today with internal courtyard](image)

The construction was carried out in Gizri Stone (locally available Sandstone) with the use of teak wood for doors and windows. Although the walls were load bearing, the roof was laid in reinforced cement and concrete to allow for further floors to be laid in the future and also because wood was comparatively expensive. The facades were adorned with stone carving which was unique to this region because it was the local craftsman’s interpretation of the classical order of proportion and geometry.
The relationship of the house with the urban morphology

The Hindu ghar was located in the Old Town of Karachi and was densely packed within the irregular meandering streets. The plot divisions were irregular, as the locality had grown organically over time with no attempt to any formal plan implementation. It had narrow streets enclosed within the fortification. The only communal open spaces were the public squares (chowk) formed either by the culmination of roads or open space surrounding mosques and shrines with a high built up density. The main roads were wide and accommodated the loading unloading facilities (Figure 5.10).

Figure 5.10: An undated photograph of the Old Town of Karachi probably dating from mid-18th century

The response of designs to local climate

In Karachi’s Old Town vernacular, the use of screens and louvers made in wood has been common, firstly because it cuts out the glare and let the breeze in, and secondly it provides a sense of privacy in dense urban fabric of the old city, which is welcomed in the introverted way of life. Traditionally the courtyards within the houses also worked as efficient climatic solution for the densely packed houses of the Old Town, and provided spaces for social interaction for the households. The high density and narrow streets also helped to keep the
glare and heat away from the streets as during most part of the day the streets were shaded by the buildings.

- The use of global versus local technology, materials, crafts and skills

All construction in the Old Town was either in brick or stone in the urban areas and in mud in the rural areas. Mud plaster mixed with cow dung or straw was used as insulation in rural areas. Terracotta tiles and burnt bricks were used in more affluent houses in the city. The roofing was made of thatch, straw or bamboo woven together. The Hindu method of construction was embellished with plaster molding of figures, humans and animals (Khan 2003).

- The incorporation and preservation of natural habitats, flora and fauna.
The old city where the Hindu ghar was located had a high density (280 persons per acre) and lacked open green spaces.

- The amalgamation of local social values and sense of aesthetics versus global imagery.
The Hindu ghar was a direct response of native social and aesthetic values incorporating local social and aesthetic requirements by the creation of spaces like use of the rooftops for outdoor activities, the wooden screens, ventilators, bamboo blinds, internal courtyard and stone carving on front facades having mouldings of flora, fauna, figures, humans and animals.
5.3. Local power structure and production of built form in Old Town

Having described the morphological evolution of the Old Town, this section onwards provides an analysis of *maqamiat* of built form within the case study area. These sub heads have been linked to the conceptual framework developed in Chapter Two. This section looks at the local power structure connected to the decisions taken about the built form within the Old Town.

The Karachi Strategic Development Plan 2020 envisages the shifting of many of the wholesale markets from the area to the outskirts of the city relieving the inner city from congestion, but in reality there is strong opposition to this proposal by the market owners. The politicians and government agencies perceive the Old Town as a historic area having old buildings which are worthy of preservation as the built heritage of the city. They also see this locality as being adversely affected by the functioning of the wholesale markets within the area as mentioned in the Karachi Strategic Development Plan 2020. The informal ownership structure of real estate in the old city that is commonly known as the *pagri* system and the informal organizations in the locality are also seen as a threat by the government officials because they complicate any possibility of relocation and shifting of wholesale markets to any other part of the city. A strategy proposed in Karachi Strategic Plan 2020 (KSDP) aims to “promote the development of a polycentric city that deconcentrates economic and public service activities from the existing central business district/ port area to new urban centres in peripheral areas ” (ECIL, 2007: 90). The strategy aims to shift wholesale activities to the outskirts of the city but what functions will replace the existing buildings in the Old Town is not clear.

The government officials, generally, favour certain imagery for the built form of the city, which in their view responds well to the global aspirations of the city. Consumerism is promoted to be housed within this built form, which in the point of view of the government officials, is better reflected through the shopping mall typology. This is reflected through the newer developments in the city and the image projected by the city administration. This was evident in a presentation made by the previous Mayor of the city that focused on elevated expressways, flyovers, signal free corridors, bridges, parks, priority mass transit corridors infrastructure development and 47 floors high IT centre development within the city (GEO, 2012).
On the other hand the planners, urban designers and architects in the city have, from time to time, put forward design proposals with respect to the revitalization of the historic areas of the city. They have lobbied the local government and have succeeded in getting about one thousand buildings declared protected under the Sindh Culture Department. Ninety-eight buildings in Market quarters, ninety-five buildings in Old Town quarters and twenty-two buildings in Bunder quarters have been identified by the Heritage Cell at Department of Architecture and Planning, NED University of Engineering and Technology as protected under the Sindh Government Heritage Act.

Architect Yasmeen Lari, under the banner of the Heritage Foundation (a private practice), has also lobbied for the preservation and conservation of historic areas and buildings within the Old Town. Her proposals revolve around the preservation of the historic urban character, including old trees and open spaces, implementation of byelaws for controlling development in old parts of the city, administration of vehicular traffic to decrease pollution, creation of pedestrian routes, relocation of environmentally damaging local industry and control over installation of hoardings and other signage over historic buildings.

Thus the planners, urban designers and architects make efforts to address the preservation and conservation issues of the historic buildings within the city. This is reflected in various workshops and seminars organized through the Pakistan Council of Architects and Town Planners and Institute of Architects and Planners. The focus is, however, mainly on individual buildings and public open spaces are not recorded for their value, scale and connection with buildings. Moreover, larger urban areas from within the Old Town are not declared as historic or conservation zones.

Residents and shop owners of the Old Town also desire for the built form of the Old Town to be preserved, as for them the old buildings made out of stone are of value in terms of visual aesthetics and the climatic solutions that they offer. This was observed in the focus group interviews and qualitative interviews conducted in the area. They do however, want to see the infrastructure conditions and general operation and maintenance improved in the locality, along with the conservation of the built form.
5.4. Pre requisites for localness

According to the formal division of the city into towns the areas along MA Jinnah Road are part of Saddar Town, Jamshed Town and Cantonment. Karachi Municipal Cooperation (KMC) and City District Government Karachi (CDGK) are responsible for the road development, municipal services (water, sanitation, solid waste, repairing roads, parks, streetlights, and traffic engineering), and general maintenance of different localities along MA Jinnah.

Table 5.1: The formal system of governance along MA Jinnah road
Source: www.cdgk.com.pk accessed 22-3-14

Sui Southern Gas Company (SSGC), Karachi Electric, KMC and Karachi Water and Sewerage Board undertake the infrastructure provision and maintenance. These are autonomous government bodies in which a trend to privatization is seen. The provision of electricity is disrupted many times during the day. As a backup support, Uninterruptible Power Supply Systems (UPSS) are mostly used in residential and commercial areas. In
commercial areas, however there is greater trend of using gas-run generators on a collective basis, whereas some shops have their own private generators. SSGC is responsible for provision of gas, which serves the purpose of fuelling stoves, Compressed Natural Gas (CNG) stations, generators and various other routine requirements in the area.

Water is supplied through individual lines in the Old Town; however, the use of hand pumps in some areas is also seen. In areas with shortage of water supply water tankers are also used but since the narrow lanes do not provide easy access to the tankers, a more localized version of provision of water through mushkis (leather bags containing water carried on donkey carts or on the back of people) is more common.

There are major problems with the drainage system in the case study area, which is clogged in the rainy season and starts to overflow, creating a nuisance for the residents and shop owners. Waste collections systems are not operational in the locality and this is managed through privately hired scavengers by owners of apartments in individual buildings, or by the community of the area. The garbage is collected from the dumps within the area by local government trucks. In the commercial areas of the Old Town, shop owners manage door-to-door waste collection on a self-help basis.

The pagri system is the most common form of property ownership in the Old Town. The pagri system is an informal lease arrangement (with nothing on paper) where the owner of the property allows the tenant to use the premises after receiving a pagri which is an amount little less than the prevailing market price of the property. The tenant pays a nominal monthly rent to the property owner and occupies the premises for years without any fear of eviction. The property remains in the property owner’s name and he continues to pay taxes on it. This system has continued to be in operation since the Colonial times (18th century), and is still the preferred way of renting property. In the present context, the formal housing credit and property registration system does not recognize it for transactions. The tenancy conditions are also left undocumented, which creates undesirable conflicts between owner and tenants. This informal system of rent, where the property owner cannot evict the person the property has been rented to, has become a threat to the old structures, because other means of evacuating the property, like putting the buildings on fire are being witnessed. The property owner does not have documents and property papers so he is not even in a position to sell the buildings in
the open market. This situation is worsened by the weak preservation laws regarding these buildings in the city.

The locality falls within the jurisdiction of CDGK, thus it is supposed to follow building regulations outlined in the Karachi Building and Town Planning Regulations 2004. This document however does not have any regulations for the open spaces within the Old Town, or for clusters of buildings. The focus is on individual buildings and the premise is that by fixing one structure the impact can be felt on the locality at large. The document has a section on preservation of heritage buildings (pp. 109) but the definition of heritage buildings is flawed because, by the approval of the relevant authorities, any changes can be made to these buildings.

Multiple ownership of heritage buildings is also allowed under these regulations, and so is the possibility of selling out the unutilized floor area to different owners to be used for commercial purposes. Demolition, alteration and extension of heritage buildings is also allowed provided it is approved by the government bodies and they do not raise any objections. These byelaws and regulations seem to undermine the preservation of heritage buildings and do not stop the possibility of their alteration and demolition. Furthermore, there are no byelaws for the historic precincts of the city, including open spaces because of which the Old Town is losing heritage buildings and open spaces.
5.5. Local tangibles

This section documents and analyses the typology of the built form, open built ratios, land uses and how the scale of the built form is perceived by the users and what is their analysis of the boundaries of the neighbourhood in the Old Town. It also analyses the environmental responsiveness of the built form with respect to the indicators of *maqamiat*, as outlined in Chapter Two.

The information included in this section is derived from the focus group and semi structured interviews conducted in the case study area. The objective is to understand the meaning the residents and shop owners associate with the built form, on the local level, which reflects a sense of identity. It documents the various buildings that are seen as landmarks within the locality, by the residents and shop owners, and provide a sense of continuity, authenticity and identity to the locality.

The indicator of adaptability analysis the flexibility that the built form has in the case study area, which offers the possibility of adaptation of the built form to different functions or usage and allows the built structures to continue to exist over a period. Adaptability of the built form is a concept, which is used to underpin the analysis of the relationship between mapped social and economic activities and the built form.

Patina, as a concept is linked to the sense of history of a place, to continuity and appearance. In the connotation of the Old Town, the sense of history, continuity and cultural weathering is discussed in the focus group interviews and qualitative interview analysis. The importance of living and working in a historic place for the residents and shop owners and the sense of history and continuity reflected in their everyday social and economic activities are described.

Another concept relevant to the discussion of *maqamiat* of a place is its particularity. A particular place has a particular character, which is evident through the built form. However, because of the replacement of many old buildings by newer structures the Old Town is fast losing its original particular character. Although individual buildings are being replaced, not much has changed in the overall morphology of the locality, which even today has narrow meandering streets. The objective here is to understand the role of individual buildings and urban morphology in maintaining the particularity of place. The research is based on urban
morphological analysis of the Old Town and the meanings associated with different built form elements by stakeholders of the locality.

Connectivity of a place, according to the literature reviewed, has an impact on real estate value. If a place is well connected, it may fall prey to the global influences and change rapidly over time whereas a locality, which is introverted (like the Old Town), maintains its built form character for a longer period over time. The findings in this section are based on urban morphological analysis of the Old Town focusing on the social and economic connotations for the stakeholders of the locality with respect to its connectivity.

The case study area comprises narrow meandering streets, with high density, mixed land use. The streets vary in dimensions, the property lines, plot sizes are irregular, and many end in cul-de-sacs (Figure 5.11). It houses a number of buildings dating back to Pre-Colonial times. These are poorly maintained and are under threat of being bought down, and being replaced by contemporary buildings. 95.7% of the case study area is built with the streets as narrow as 7 feet in some places (Figure 5.12). The dominant modes of transport are motor bikes for the residents, and donkey and pushcarts for loading and unloading of goods at shops and warehouses. This has helped retain the character of the locality and rate of change has been slow over the years. According to the interviews conducted in the case study area the boundaries of the neighbourhood are perceived in two different ways; one is defined by the limits of different markets and the other is defined by the various landmark buildings which have continued to exist in the locality over the years; like the Police station, Memon Masjid (mosque) and Merewether Tower. These landmarks are located on main MA Jinnah Road. Very few respondents (three out of fifteen) identified the limits of the neighbourhood with the current governance structure of dividing the city based on Towns. The neighbourhood is identified as an introverted community defined by the markets present in the area rather than by jurisdictions or roads. Furthermore, it is a locality existing since the inception of the city but the same community has continued to inhabit it over the years thus the sense of authenticity is strong in the locality.
Figure 5.11: Irregular plot sizes and street widths of Old Town

Figure 5.12: Open built ratio of the Old Town
The majority of the buildings dating back to Pre-Colonial times are ground plus three structures (Figures 5.13 and 5.14). These are load bearing, made of stone and finished in lime plaster. The facades are adorned with carving in yellow stand stone in a mannerist tradition. The ground level of these buildings house shops where as the upper floors are either storage go downs, offices or apartments. The street is an extension of the open space and is utilized for socializing and children playing on Sundays when the market is closed.

Figure 5.13: Height of Heritage buildings in Kharadar and Meethadar
Source: Heritage Cell DAP NED UET
The new buildings being erected after demolishing of the old load bearing structures are generally ground plus five (Figure 5.15). The use of these buildings remains as retail on the ground floor and apartments and offices on upper floors. The aesthetic language of these buildings is different from that of the stone structures, because of their concrete construction. Glass facades adorn many of these buildings. The windows of these new structures are of aluminium, thus, there is discontinuity in the aesthetics set by stone structures with wooden windows and trellises. Interviewees were generally not pleased about the new construction, as they believed it took away from the character of the area. Although the individual buildings are being replaced by newer construction, the area retains its character because of the organic urban morphology with narrow streets. This is also evident from Figure 5.16, which shows a comparison between the urban morphology of the area in 1875 and in 2010.
Figure 5.15: Images showing new buildings in the Old quarter marked as red dot on map
Figure 5.16: Urban morphology of Old Town in 1874 (top) and in 2010 (bottom)

Source: Heritage Cell DAP NED UET
Figure 5.16 shows the development of the Old quarter over a period. The change in the urban morphology is that the roads have been converted into concrete, and a new road has been introduced that cuts through the Old quarter, and divides it into two halves, and the plots have been subdivided over the years, increasing the density of the area.

Figure 5.17: Urban morphology of Bunder quarter in 1875 (top) and in 2010 (bottom)

Source: Heritage Cell DAP NED UET
Figure 5.17 shows the evolution of the Bunder quarter over the years. In 1857, only 60% of the quarter was developed. The open ground (5) was then a graveyard, now it is a major landmark known as the Memon Mosque and it co-exists with the graveyard. Another portion of the quarter (4) was a well-known cattle market, now it has been developed into police quarters.

Figure 5.18: Change in the urban morphology of Market quarter in 1875 (top) and in 2010 (bottom)
Source: Heritage Cell DAP NED UET
The urban morphology of the Market quarter shows the consolidation of plots into larger land parcel to accommodate the growing wholesale markets, which serve the city and have managed to survive over the years (Figure 5.18).

Figure 5.19: The urban scale of the neighbourhood

The scale of the neighbourhood is pedestrian friendly with each quarter covering an area of 0.5 km (Figure 5.19). This encourages people to walk, especially when the streets are congested with traffic. The meandering streets also provide a sense of security and privacy for the residents and the streets remain shaded most of the day (Figure 5.20). The block size and streets widths (as narrow as 7 ft. at times) offer an urban morphological pattern particular to the area.
Figure 5.20: Images showing the streets of Old Town marked as red dot on map
The stone buildings, having thick stonewalls (18 inches in thickness) provide insulation from the hot climate. With the densification of the locality and ad hoc development, however, the light and ventilation for many of these buildings has been blocked and the residents complain of hardships they have to face when there is interruption in the electricity supply. With the densification of the locality over the years, the narrow streets have been deprived of sunlight and are dark during most parts of the day. The introverted morphology of the settlement, however, provides a sense of privacy and security for the residents and they feel a sense of connection within their neighbourhood, as the streets become an extension of the apartments. Women and children can also be seen socializing from balconies of their apartments.

The locality is defined by the markets present in the area by the stakeholders, rather than by jurisdictions or roads. Thus, the changes in the local government structures do not affect upon the association of the residents and shop owners with the locality. They continue to identify the different areas in the locality with the pre-existing structural setups (evident through interviews). Some of the communities that originally inhabited the area, like the Memon community, continue to live in the locality and have developed a strong sense of ownership, belonging and connection with the place. As discussed in the focus group, the community has formed informal organizations, which works towards the upkeep of the area and provision of amenities like school, hospital and clinics.

The residents conceive the boundaries of the locality in different ways. When asked to map the limits of the locality different maps were prepared. Some of these maps envisage the main road as the edge of the locality, others see the markets as the edges and still others view the Town as the boundaries of the locality (Figure 5.21).
Figure 5.21: Maps of area boundaries as perceived by residents of Old Town

The residents are also conscious of the historical attribute of the area, and are interested in the conservation and maintenance of old buildings, which reflects a sense of their identity, as evident in the interviews (Appendix 7). There are many buildings within the area, which were pointed out as important buildings during the stakeholder interviews and focus group discussion, although some of these buildings are not on the heritage list for the locality. The residents however attach meaning to them, because either they have been present in the place since its inception, or because they associate, a certain event or incident related to it. These places and buildings, which the residents pointed out as being important, are mapped in Figure 5.22 and tabulated in Table 5.2.
As can be seen in Figure 5.22 residents attach meaning to built form beyond the Old Town and a few landmark buildings across MA Jinnah road are also pointed out as important built forms. Residents also associated meaning with public built form like markets, mosque, and monuments.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Name of built form</th>
<th>Typology</th>
<th>Date</th>
<th>Location</th>
<th>Image</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Jinnah Bridge</td>
<td>Bridge</td>
<td>1990s</td>
<td>MA Jinnah Road</td>
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<tr>
<td>Karachi Port Trust Building</td>
<td>Building</td>
<td>1915</td>
<td>MA Jinnah Road</td>
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<tr>
<td>Qamar House</td>
<td>Building</td>
<td>1950</td>
<td>MA Jinnah Road</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>State Life Building</td>
<td>Building</td>
<td>Off MA Jinnah Road</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>Merewether Tower</td>
<td>Monument</td>
<td>1892</td>
<td>Intersection of MA Jinnah Road and II Chundriga rh Road</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jilani Centre</td>
<td>Building</td>
<td>1956</td>
<td>Kharadar</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jamshed Katrak Building</td>
<td>Building</td>
<td>1932</td>
<td>MA Jinnah Road</td>
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<tr>
<td>Eidbi Centre</td>
<td>Building</td>
<td>Not known</td>
<td>MA Jinnah Road</td>
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<tr>
<td>Wazir Mansion</td>
<td>Museum</td>
<td>1860</td>
<td>Kharadar</td>
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<tr>
<td>Bukhari Masjid/Shrine</td>
<td>Mosque</td>
<td>18th cent.</td>
<td>Kharadar</td>
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<tr>
<td>Memon Masjid</td>
<td>Mosque</td>
<td>1950</td>
<td>MA Jinnah Road/Kharadar</td>
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<td>Noor Masjid</td>
<td>Mosque</td>
<td>1967</td>
<td>Meethadar</td>
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<td>Stock Exchange</td>
<td>Building</td>
<td>19th cent.</td>
<td>II Chundriga rh Road</td>
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<tr>
<td>Paper Market</td>
<td>Market</td>
<td>1950</td>
<td>MA Jinnah Road</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>Railway go downs</td>
<td>Storage</td>
<td>1855</td>
<td>II Chundriga rh Road</td>
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Table 5.2: Places important for residents within Old Town and its immediate vicinity
Interestingly, the important built form which was mentioned by government officials in the Old Town did not include small mosques, shrines and markets that the people of Old Town associate meaning with (Table 5.3). Government officials pointed out the Khaliq Dina Hall as an important building, whereas it did not have any meaning or association for the residents and shop owners of Old Town. This was perhaps because in reality it is a building with a historical significance, which does not affect the everyday lives of the people. It has a hall, which is used occasionally for events. One room houses a library and another room is occupied by an office of a NGO.

Figure 5.23: Important built form in Old Town as mentioned by government officials
<table>
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<tr>
<th>Name of built form</th>
<th>Typology</th>
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<th>Location</th>
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Table 5.3: Important built form in the Old Town as mentioned by government officials
Table 5.4 documents the meaning and use related to different urban morphological elements as expressed by residents and shop owners of the area in the focus group discussion. The participants were aware of the historical significance of the locality, and attached a sense of identity to the area based on it. They were also conscious of the various monumental buildings that the locality houses. The shops and streets were pointed out as special social nodes as in a congested locality they are the few open spaces, and the narrow streets are an extension of the residential spaces. It can also be seen here that the respondents related to the edge of the markets as being the boundaries of different localities, rather than attributing meaning to the formal jurisdictions.

It was observed in the locality that the *chabootra* (platform in front of buildings) is a socializing space for men and women during different times of the day (Figure 5.24). In the mornings, it is usually occupied by women and by men in the evening. In cases where there are no platforms, people would put chairs and socialize on the streets (Figure 5.25).

*Figure 5.24: Platforms in front of buildings being used for socializing and for extension of the market activity*
Figure 5.25: Where Platforms are not available, people put chairs to socialize on the streets
The area is known as Meethadar or Khadda or old city. 8-10 markets are included in the old city, from Joria Bazaar to Lea market (S-1).

We are an introverted community and our limits our defined by the markets present within the area rather than by roads or jurisdictions. This is also because jurisdiction and systems of governance keeps changing under various governments (S-2).

We do however have some interaction with friends in the shops (S-3).

Children play in the streets only on Sundays when the market is closed because on other days the area is too congested for them to be out on the streets. We socialise on the chabootra. (S-4)

The streets double up as paths and as social/ recreational spaces for children and adults.

The markets especially the cloth market is a specialty of the area. These markets have been present since independence and the locality has taken a certain shape and form because of these markets (S-2).

Different edges within the locality defined by the physical jurisdictions of the market.

There are also many old buildings present in the area, which belong to the Hindu Merchants who used to live here. Not all of these buildings are listed but most of them have a particular style and have been retained over time. Although with commercialization seeping into the locality many of these buildings are being replaced with new glass and steel structures (S-1).

The locality has existed since the origin of the city of Karachi. Initially it was surrounded by water on all sides; water came up to the Sukkan Shah Mazaar on one side and the Old Mandir on the other side.

Water formed an edge to the settlement at one time.

The locality is introverted, narrow streets prevent easy vehicular access. Donkey carts and man drawn carts are used to get goods to the shops. This has helped retain the character of the locality and rate of change has been slow over the years (S-3).

The narrow streets prevent the entry of motor vehicles, which helps the area retain its character to a great extent.

The locality has narrow and meandering streets which is not seen in other parts of the city and the presence of Colonial buildings and Hindu Architecture in the area also gives the area its uniqueness (S-1).

Colonial buildings
Hindu Architecture

Table 5.4: Meaning and usage related to 05 morphological elements (highlighted by Lynch) as explained by residents and shop owners in Old Town (author)
One local characteristic of the area is the relationship between the names of the streets and the economic activity taking place. If a market selling bottles is present in the street, it is called *botal gali* (bottle street), similarly if the street houses shops selling clothes it is called *kapra gali* (clothes street). These streets are not known by their formal names (Figures 5.26-5.29).

Another local characteristic is the public spaces promoting commerce. The formal markets are extended into the streets through venders selling similar product but at a cheaper rate on the vending carts. Although it adds further congestion on the street, but the shopping options are increased (Figures 5.26-5.29).

*Figure 5.26: ‘Masala gali’ (Spice street)*

*Figure 5.27: ‘Maiwah gali’ (Dry fruits street)*

*Figure 5.28: ‘Bartan gali’ (Utensils street)*

*Figure 5.29: ‘Kitab gali’ (Book street)*

The stone buildings in the area give the locality a sense of particularity, as the aesthetic language is different to the built form of the rest of the city (Figure 5.30). Although, the residents and shop owners do not seem to be aware of the specific built form elements that give the place this particularity, they are generally conscious of the different structures. Some
of the residents however mentioned the inability to develop their housing incrementally as was their need for the coming generations, firstly because the residences are apartment types with shops on the ground floor, and secondly because the buildings are load bearing old structures to which further loads cannot be added. A general trend seen in the area is of change in the use of old buildings from residential to warehousing on the upper floors. The poor infrastructure conditions become a hindrance in the rise of real estate value of the properties.

Some of the built form elements that adorn the stone facades in the locality of Old Town are arches, pilasters, pediment roofs, wooden balconies and coarse stone finish (Figure 5.30).
Figures 5.30: Built form elements that adorn the stone facades in Old Town
Another intrinsic morphological characteristic of the locality are the *chowks*. These *chowks* are at the intersection of access ways, and act as spaces of interaction and congregation. They are usually connected to a local mosque or shrine and become the spill out space during large prayer congregations (Figure 5.31 and 5.32).

![Figure 5.31: Chowks in Old Town scale](image1)

![Figure 5.32: Close up of the Chowks in Old Town](image2)
In theory, connectivity describes the limit to which urban forms permit (or restrict) people’s and vehicular movement in different directions. In the urban design literature (Shach-Pinsly et.al: 2011; Mehta and Bosson: 2010) good connectivity of urban spaces is considered a positive attribute, as it encourages pedestrian and vehicular flow and avoids severing neighbourhoods. According to the literature, urban forms, which have low connectivity, discourage movement on foot and force people to take longer routes via cars. But in the case of the Old Town this principle does not hold because, firstly, cars cannot penetrate in the inner section of the old city because of the narrow street widths, and secondly the plan of the Old Town is introverted, organic and meandering with many cul-de-sacs which do not allow vehicles to enter and move through. Thus, the argument here is that the lack of connectivity, especially vehicular connectivity, has allowed the locality to maintain its urban morphological character over the years and very little change in its urban grain has taken place (refer image 5.15 and 5.16). A contrary argument however, would hold that the introverted organic urban characteristic of the Old Town is responsible for fossilizing the locality and denying modern development, which is possible in a gridded urban morphology.

In order to test the contrary argument, space syntax software was used to calculate integration and connectivity levels of each of the case study areas. As explained in Chapter Three, integration measures the number of turns that have to be made from a street segment to reach other street segments using shortest paths. If the number of turns required for reaching all segments in the graph is analysed, the analysis is said to measure integration at radius 'n'. The street segments that require the least turns to reach all other streets are called 'most integrated' and are usually represented with colours like yellow.

In the integration analysis of the Old Town (Figure 5.33) very distinct edges can be seen in the Old Town with the peripheral streets and roads being well integrated and the inner streets being segregated.
Another form of space syntax analysis that was undertaken for the Old Town was connectivity analysis. According to the connectivity analysis, the inner city areas appeared more connected, than integrated, with the immediate neighbourhoods on the local scale (Figure 5.34). This analysis reiterates the introverted character of the locality, which gives the area its particularity. The introverted character also discourages the movement of vehicles through the neighbourhood, allowing the streets to be used as extended open spaces by residents and shopkeepers for socializing and display of merchandise.
Figure 5.34: Connectivity analysis of Old Town

Green: Most connected
Red: Least connected
5.6. Local intangibles

This section addresses the reading and interpretation of the built form with respect to social responsiveness and change in demographics of the area, and is largely based on the data obtained via stakeholder interviews and focus group discussions. The role of the built form in the co-existence of the communities, the social meanings associated with the built form and ideas about place attachment and affiliation are reviewed here.

According to official government records (ECIL 2007), a mixed ethnicity has resided in the locality since its inception. The statistics show that today 76% of the area residents are Muslims, 13% are Christians, 8% are Parsi and 3% are Hindus. These statistics were different at the time of independence of Pakistan as the area was dominated by Hindu merchants, which is also evident from the many abandoned temples within the locality, and by the names of buildings inscribed on the front facades of many buildings.

The ethnic communities, which dominate the locality today, are Urdu speaking (22%), Memons (14%), Bohris (11%), Pathans (10%), Punjabis (9%) and Sindhis (8%). The other ethnic communities residing in the locality are Balochis, Marwaris, Makranis, Seraikis and Parsis. Each of these communities have strong social ties amongst themselves and work together for the betterment of the locality and for the provision of infrastructure and other civic facilities through setting up informal organizations. The bigger the population of the community the stronger their presence and affiliation within the area.

In terms of the economic setup, the area is dominated by the lower middle-income group (65%). The statistics also show that currently (ECIL 2007) 40% of the locality is dominated by the Muhajir Quomi Movement (MQM) which is a political organization of people from Indian origin, 30% is dominated by Awami National Party (ANP), which is a political party of Pushto origin, 20% is dominated by Pakistan People’s Party (PPP), which is a political party of Sindhi origin and 10% is dominated by Jamiat-e-Ulema which is a party of religious background.

The social set up consists of extended families with the current residents being people who have mostly inherited the apartments, or are sharing it with family. The residents however complain of their inability to add more rooms to the structures to accommodate the growing family size. Buying new property is an expensive option for these people, who belong to the
middle to lower middle-income group. The average family size is eight, out of which two are school age children. The women and the elderly stay at home, generally looking after the children and being involved in daily household chores.

According to the focus group and stakeholder interviews, older people have very strong cultural ties and do not want to shift from the locality, but the younger generation are interested in shifting to a less congested locality (Appendix 5) if they could afford it. The people have adapted to the area by socializing more in the shops and at home and less on the streets because of the security concerns. The fact that there is little vehicular access in the streets allows children to use the streets for playing when the market is closed, especially on Sundays. There are clusters of people belonging to different ethnic origins living together in the Old Town, which gives them a sense of homogeneity and also tends in the locality’s favour with the streets becoming extension of the houses. There is also a strong bonding amongst the market owners. The majority of the stakeholders of the markets in this area have been operational here on an average of 30 to 45 years. Most of the market owners are also the residents of the area, thus their sense of ownership is strong in terms of safeguarding their community’s and locality’s well-being.

Many informal organizations also operate within the locality for provision of amenities like education and health facilities. These informal organizations are mostly dominated by representatives from political parties, which may not necessarily be the elected political parties. Some of the informal organizations are run by community heads, NGOs, CBOs and members of market unions. Members from these CBOs co-ordinate with government agencies for the provision and maintenance of municipal services. Commercial areas have their own unions based on the type of market they are running whereas residential unions are based mainly on ethnicity. The residential unions are dominated by the Memon ethnicity. The Kutiyana Memon Community is one example, which runs its own schools and hospital (Figure 5.35). This community has a good network with other Memons in the city and receives funding from private donors. The Kutiyana Memon Association also provides financial funding to under-privileged members of the society.
The sense of affiliation between the residential neighbours is also reflected in the way residents socialize with each other. According to a respondent of the stakeholder interview:

‘Our apartments face each other so we talk to our neighbours through our windows or balconies or on the landings of the staircases. Kids also play within the building. The security issues are serious on the streets thus we do not let our kids play there. It is only on Sundays that the kids from the neighbourhood get together to play some matches. Even the elderly stay indoors mostly.’

The communication between neighbours can be observed at various levels concurrently within the Old Town. Communication takes place from the balconies and windows of apartments facing each other, on the streets, in front of the shops and on the landings of the staircases. Due to the intense market activity on the ground level, the residents prefer to communicate on different levels. Although the residents complain of the worsening security situation within the locality and increased cases of theft which prevents them from socializing in the streets, evidence speaks otherwise, and the market seems to be bustling with life. The residents also complain of lack of parks within the locality, congestion and encroachment as
factors that prevent them from trouble free socializing and force them to visit distant places like the Clifton beach for recreation.

Local ties with the locality are evident through the number of ethnically bound informal associations running within the locality on a self-help basis, to provide for the civic amenities like schooling, health care and general municipal services. This is possible because of the ethnically bound communities residing within the locality that have developed a sense of trust between themselves and a sense of ownership with the locality.

Shrines and the activity around them add another local flavour. These shrines form an important part of the social fabric of Old Town. They are visited by devotees from the locality and from other parts of the city on a daily basis, and the residents relate to them as important landmarks within the area. There is also an informal economy which is attached to these shrines in terms of the trusts running them, devotees paying for the upkeep of the structures, free food being offered to the less privileged and a sleeping place being offered to the homeless. Annual festivals are held in them to mark the birth or death anniversary of the religious figures during which immediate neighbourhood is decorated and the festivals attract hundreds of people from within the city. These are annual events when the entire locality is illuminated and decorated. The shrine of Bukhari Shah is famous within Kharadar (Figure 5.36). The shrine is seen as an important social capital by the residents of the locality and on a daily basis they affiliate with it as a landmark and a place of devotion.
These shrines along with the temple within the locality are important tangible form of heritage of the area, which the residents are proud of, and relate to in their memory of the area. A very famous story about a Saint who loved playing with children and lived in Meethadar is related by many elders of the locality. The legend is about Dada (grandfather) Noor Shah Ghazi’s love for children. It is widely believed in the locality that approximately seventy years ago the Saint would be angry with parents (in their dreams) who would stop children from coming to play in the premises of his shrine. The Saint is also believed to distribute sweets to children coming to his shrine, though the saint would not be visible to any of the children.

The Hindu temple is a reminder of the Hindu merchant population that lived within the locality (Figure 5.37). The temple is no longer used, because a low number of Hindus living in the areas and the upkeep and maintenance of the temple cannot be paid for. The structure, however has survived and serves to be an important landmark within the city.
5.7. Competing variables and localness

This section addresses how the built form in the case study area has accommodated the economic growth of the locality and has impacted on the *maqamiat* of the built form. The local and global economic interdependence and the consequent adaptive response of the built form is examined.

With the growth of the city, the markets in the Old Town have remained the main wholesale centres, and the activity within them has intensified. These markets have been present since independence and the locality has taken a certain shape and form because of these markets. The interviews conducted point towards the fact that the residents and shop owners take pride in the fact that this area has continued to be the central wholesale market of the city and are keen on resolving the infrastructure and congestion problems associated with the functioning of the markets on a self-help basis. With commercialization increasing in the Old Town, economic activity is being accommodated in new buildings. It is possible to construct taller
buildings using concrete and steel structures, as compared to stone buildings, which are limited to ground plus four at the most. Thus, the new buildings can accommodate more economic functions, including wholesale, retail and offices.

Different markets exist along the stretch of MA Road; these include the spice market, kitchen utensils market, book market, dry fruits market, jewellers market and recycled goods market but the specialty of the area chosen for the case study is the cloth market (Figure 5.38 and 5.41).
The central location of the wholesale market within the city creates economic opportunity, but the lack of any possibility of expansion is negative, as the increased size of the market and related activities cause congestion and pollution within the locality. The wholesale market serves other retail markets within the city, and other cities within the country. Products arrive here from the Karachi Port and the railway station and are stored in warehouses on upper floors within the Old Town. The hawker market makes up a part of the economy of the Old Town as well. They are located on pedestrian walkways in front of the shops and provide for the transit shoppers or shoppers looking for a bargain. Their presence causes further congestion in the locality and creates a hindrance to pedestrians. The formal and the informal economies work together within the locality and support each other. The weak byelaws, regulation and zoning in the Old Town allow the built form to be adapted to various functions, which may not necessarily have been the original function of the buildings. For instance, the upper floors of many buildings are being used as warehousing and storage for the products sold in different markets. This flexibility allows the market to continue functioning in the congested locality.

The various stakeholders within the area range from visitors, to shoppers, to shop owners, to transporters, to hawkers, to sweepers, to garbage collectors, to government officials, to other people employed within the market, to taxi drivers, to office workers within the area, within the vicinity and the city as well. There are various informal organizations and unions working within the area that are concerned with the operation and maintenance of the market activities.

The presence of such markets gives the locality distinctive identity and the different stakeholders associate with the locality because of them. If these markets were to be moved, as is a proposal by the government in the Karachi Strategic Plan 2020, the area would lose its vibrancy and distinction.

The built form, which is localized in terms of a certain aesthetics and use of material, accommodates global economic functions, as the locality is well connected to the nearby seaport and railway station.
Thus, with increasing status of the city as an economic hub for the country, the pressure on the wholesale market in the Old Town is immense, and this is having an impact on the local urban qualities and built form. So far, the place has been able to take this pressure because of the numerous informal organizations based on ethnicity, community and good will of shop owners working towards the running and upkeep of the area as most of the shop owners live within the locality too thus they are interested in its smooth operation. Any plans of the government relating to the relocation of the wholesale market to the outskirts of the city have been met with opposition. In the face of the global pressures on the city, an alternative approach needs to be found which not only preserves the historic urban morphological face of the Old Town but also conserves the market activities.

5.8. Conclusion

The reason for choosing this case study area was to understand the indigenous urban tissue of the city of Karachi and to find evidence if any reference is made to it in newer developments in the area, and in the city at large. It was intended to describe the maqamiat of built form, using the conceptual framework developed in Chapter Two.

It can be concluded that there is a significant difference between the perception of the locality by the government, by the professionals and by the residents and market owners of the Old Town. The government envisages the shifting of the wholesale markets from the locality, which would affect the environmental, social and economic setup of the case study area. The professionals however are interested in retaining the wholesale character of the locality and promote the improvement in the infrastructure conditions and general uplifting of the built form. The wholesale activity generally does not bother the residents, mainly because they are involved in wholesale-related economic activities and they are interested in improving the aesthetic and infrastructure workings of the locality.

The way the residents and shop owners perceive the boundary of the locality is also based on the jurisdiction of different markets rather than by the formal government administrative divisions. The stakeholders relate to the old stone structures and other landmarks buildings which are part of their identify, memory and the history of the locality. Urban spaces like the chabootra (platform), chowk (junction) and narrow meandering lanes are a part of their daily
socializing routines. Thus, the particularity that the built form offers has a meaning attached to it for the residents.

The built form that has survived over the years also offers some design and detailing lessons with regards to authenticity, such as screens (*jalis*), ventilators, bamboo blinds, internal courtyard, flat roofs and stone carving on front facades, which also add to the *maqamiat* of the Old Town.

Above all, the sense of social affiliation is very strong amongst the neighbours; where the streets become extended, socializing spaces for children, women and others and the ethnically homogenous clusters residing within the locality give them a sense of security and belonging.

The locality has retained its physical form and aesthetic value because of the homogenous community that dwells in the area and the various social association’s people have developed over time. The informal organizations, which work towards the upkeep, running and maintenance of the neighbourhood, also contribute towards retaining and promoting the local flavour of the case study area. Although the particular physical features of the built form (use of stone as a material) gives particularity to the area, if it were not for the homogeneously associated communities within the area the built form would have fallen prey to the forces of globalization. Thus, the intangible aspects of *maqamiat* are stronger than the tangible aspects within the Old Town.

The intangible aspects of *maqamiat*, in this case study, help the locality retain its physical localness and is valued by the residents in the form of social affiliations and networks. The physical interpretation of *maqamiat* helps identify local spaces that are linked to the localized social processes and the creation of unique places, which add to local flavour. These spaces are neither acknowledged, nor understood, or replicated in newer developments in the city by either the professionals or the politicians, thus the indigenous urban tissue of the city is being lost. The acknowledgement of the ‘localized forms’ and processes can help cities achieve global advantage as described by global city theorists and discussed.
Chapter Six

Case Study Two: Kehkashan Clifton

6.1. Introduction

The second case study area of Kehkashan Clifton is located in the south of Karachi, on the Arabian Sea. Two areas within Kehkashan Clifton have been chosen for detailed analysis; Generalabad and Clifton Block 5. Generalabad has developed as an unplanned locality for low income residents, whereas Block 5 Clifton has developed as a planned development catering to the upper middle class. The objective of this case study is, firstly to evaluate the ways in which maqamiat is present in the two areas, and secondly to assess how is maqamiat seen and valued by people from different walks of life. This case study area differs from the first case study in the following ways:

1. It was originated by the Colonialists as a suburban development for the British as the sea was believed to have healing powers.
2. Since its inception, it has remained an area where the elite of the city dwell alongside pockets of unplanned development.
3. Recently the locality has experienced major developments in terms of high-rise buildings and infrastructure by private builders, having an aesthetic language, which responds to global demands.

The reason for choosing this case study area is to understand the co-existence of the Old Clifton (developed during British rule), the landmark structures like the Mausoleum of Abdullah Shah Ghazi and the Mahadev temple, the presence of the beach, which caters to the entire city, and the residential areas of Kehkashan Clifton. The objective is analyse the local built form that has been retained over time, and the built form that responds to global pressures and if there has been an impact upon the associations with the built form of different stakeholders of the locality.
The five defining factors that have been used to explain *maqamiat* form the structure of this Chapter, linking up the research findings to the literature review and built form indicators for *maqamiat* outlined in Chapter Two. The Chapter starts out describing and locating the case study area within the city, in terms of its morphology, and then goes on to critically look at the various parameters of *maqamiat* of built form. Finally, it explains and analyses *maqamiat* of built form, and questions whether it is useful for the urban context.

### 6.2. The urban morphological evolution of the Kehkashan Clifton

Part of Kehkashan Clifton (called Clifton in short) was developed by the British. This area still exists with a few landmark buildings, and retains its urban morphology, although the land use of the majority of the buildings has changed from residential to commercial. The British had developed, what is known today as Old Clifton, to house their top ranking government officials in bungalows, as they believed the sea had healing powers and provided a pleasant environmental conditions away from the congested parts of the city (Figure 6.1). Thus the inception of this case study area was in its elitist background, and it still continues to be a locality within the city housing the elite. Although there are many pockets of informal settlements, which have sprung up over the years to house the domestic worker serving the elite, but the dominant face of Clifton remains elitist.

![Figure 6.1: 18th century map of Karachi drawn by the British showing Clifton and its connection to Cantonment and Old Town](http://www.wikiwand.com/en/History_of_Karachi)

The locality houses the Mausoleum of Abdullah Shah Ghazi, a saint who is venerated throughout the sub-continent, and attracts thousands of visitors daily (Figure 6.2). This Shrine dates from 9th century, and has acquired a landmark status over the years. There is also a temple next to the Mausoleum, named Maha Dev Temple, which is equally venerated by Hindus and is believed to be a hundred and fifty year old structure (Figure 6.3). Both the Shrine and the Temple have been a part of the indigenous settlement of Karachi, and have continued to be a major part of its history.

*Figure 6.2: The new face of the Mausoleum of Abdullah Shah Ghazi*

*Figure 6.3: Mahadev Temple in Clifton*
There is also a beach in Clifton, which attracts visitors from all of Pakistan, because of its easy access and supporting facilities. The presence of the Clifton beach has always given importance to the development of the locality. As mentioned previously, the roots for the development of its urban morphology were laid during Colonial times and some important landmark recreational buildings came into existence in the early 19\textsuperscript{th} century, like the Band Stand and the Lady Lloyd Pier which was originally a pier, but with the receding sea today it has become a walkway (Figures 6.4 and 6.5).

![Figure 6.4: The Lady Lloyd Pier and the Band Stand in the 19\textsuperscript{th} Century](http://visitpak.com/take-a-look-on-british-karachi-with-the-old-karachi-pictures/ accessed 5-12-14)

![Figure 6.5: The Lady Lloyd Pier and the Band Stand as seen today](http://visitpak.com/take-a-look-on-british-karachi-with-the-old-karachi-pictures/ accessed 5-12-14)
Kehkashan Clifton covers an area of 1,950 acres and was sanctioned by the Government of Pakistan in October 1964, as a self-financing scheme costing Pak Rs. 10.112 crores then (US $ 14,385,714 approx.). This scheme was meant as a recreational-cum-high income residential scheme for bungalows and multi-storied flats, on plots varying from 600 to 4,500 square yards. It incorporated the Old Clifton housing and recreational spaces of Clifton, as well as the Shrine of Abdullah Shah Ghazi and the Maha Dev Temple (Figures 6.6 and 6.7). This scheme was meant to extend the city right up to the sea, eliminating marshes and sandy wastes, providing space for a population of 150,000 (KDA, 1969) (Figure 6.7). The scheme was launched for middle and upper middle-income groups, as an extension of the Bath Island residential neighbourhood. It had to grapple with many technical issues, the most important being land consolidation and reclamation. A well-established network of main streets, service lanes, pedestrian paths and connector roads were inherent characteristic of the scheme.

Figure 6.6: Location of Kehkashan Clifton within Karachi

Source: googleearth.com accessed 13-12-14
The idea behind the launch of Clifton Kehkashan was to develop residential zones along the beach, and provide multi-storied high-density housing on the pattern of similar beaches in other parts of the world. It was also meant to provide accommodation for various foreign diplomatic missions in Karachi. The boating basin was to develop as a recreational zone within Clifton, catering to the locality and to the rest of the city as well (Figure 6.7).

The scheme was to have 1,935 plots for residential and commercial purposes. Kehkashan was also to have 100 acres of parkland, and many other recreational facilities, like open-air theatre, amusement park, restaurants and boating club. A drive of about 14,200 feet was constructed along the beach with provision for parks and boating basin. 670 acres of land was reclaimed with an average fill of eight feet (Rizvi, 1968).

The proposal for a three-mile promenade wall along the beach was also made, jutting about 600 to 900 feet into the sea at high tide to stop the sand blowing on shore from the sand dunes on the beach. A Boating Basin (Figure 6.7) and the channel were carved out from the marshy area containing 15 feet deep water. Boating clubs and restaurant sites were planned on the four corners of the basin.

There were many problems faced by Karachi Development Authority (KDA) during the infrastructure development of Kehkashan Clifton. These included reclamation of land, unsuitability of the land for construction as the soil was found to be supersaturated with salts.
from seawater, bearing capacity of salt being too low and the drifting of mica sand on the beach. The solution of all these problems was sought after many investigations and analysis of the behaviour of the sea.

Kehkashan Clifton was thinly populated until the 1970s, but with the ethnic violence erupting in the city in the 1980s and with migrant Pathans settling in the northern and central parts of the city (which was the location of the ethnic clashes), the wealthy and elite started shifting to the southern parts of the city, including Clifton. As Clifton had initially developed as a locality catering to the elite, it suited the requirements of these people moving from the north of the city with big plot sizes, the presence of many parks and recreational areas. The beach also acted as a leisure point. Initially the elite settling in the locality opted for adjoining areas of Saddar, and the nearby shopping centre of Tariq Road for their commercial needs, but over the years Clifton has witnessed the opening of many retail and shopping centres. Now the residents of Clifton do not need to visit adjoining areas for shopping, instead people from all over the city come for shopping to the district. This development has been coupled with rapid increase in the population of the locality.

The physical distance of Clifton from the rest of the city has also led to social and cultural distances, as residents of Clifton only interact with people of common backgrounds and interests, and the poorer sections of the city and the elite never come in contact with each other, except as domestic workers in the houses of the rich. The elite enjoy going to hotels, clubs, parks, malls, cinemas and expensive restaurants dotting Kehkashan Clifton, and adjoining the elite locality of Defense Housing Society, whilst the poorer sections of society visit the beach, Play Land, Fun Land and some parks for recreation. The majority of the private schools and colleges are also located within the elitist neighbourhood.

Recently the city has also been experiencing the shifting of offices from the Central Business District (CBD) to Clifton. This change in the land use with the relocation of head offices of a number of banks and financial institutions to Clifton has resulted in an increase in the real estate value of the locality, and it is envisaged by the city planners that with efficient transport connections, housing mixed land use, with residences for the elite and proximity to the harbour, Clifton has the potential of developing into a CBD for the city. The downside of this consolidation of land use in Clifton is the decline of the building stock in adjoining areas of Saddar and II Chundrigarh, where property owners are finding it difficult to find a tenant for their properties as the locality of Clifton is preferred.
The Clifton commercial area has, over the years, emerged as a Sub-Metropolitan centre. Besides retail activities, it also has a large percentage of offices and institutional uses. Besides the advantage of housing religious buildings like the Shrine and the Temple and recreational spaces, Clifton also houses hospitals, which serve both the locality and the adjacent housing scheme of Defense Housing Authority (DHA). The residential areas provide a variety of housing types, ranging from apartment blocks, to town houses, to detached bungalows, which again attract people belonging to different income groups. Being amongst the early schemes planned and developed by KDA, Clifton has served as a reference scheme for other similar development initiatives within the city. Clifton has over the past ten years experienced a rapid change in its land use with the change in the Floor Area Ratios (FAR) for the main arteries and the land use regulations for the locality. The single storey houses and residential complexes facing the primary roads have been replaced by high-rise real estate, mixed use development, incorporating offices, schools, shopping malls, apartments and other non-residential uses. The trend in the change of the land use continues in the secondary lanes where the residences have been replaced by schools or offices, causing traffic chaos. Recently Clifton has seen the construction of a number of shopping malls, parks and educational institution facilities and projects by a private developer, by the name of Bahria Developer. The area to date has retained its elite and high profile ambience.

The extroverted Colonial bungalow has been an intrinsic part of the urban morphology of Clifton. Until today, the bungalow style development dominates the urban morphology of the locality, although the sub division of plots has reduced the sizes of these bungalows, and many of the Colonial bungalows have seen a change in land use from residential to commercial.

The bungalow, which was part of the initial development of the Clifton Cantonment by the British, is a hybrid built form that was introduced as a foreign element, but was adopted by locals and eventually became part of the indigenous landscape. In studying the evolution of this typology, lessons are drawn with respect to urban morphology, sense of aesthetics, climatic response, use of technology, respect for traditionalism versus modernism and response to global imagery.

The Colonial Bungalow originated in the British cantonment in the early 19th century. Cantonments tried to ‘replicate conditions at home’ (Lari and Lari, 2000: 65). The immigrant culture manifested itself though symbols, which were designed to impress the native
population. ‘The Churches and town halls with their tall spires and clock towers unequivocally declared the supremacy of the alien culture’ (Lari and Lari, 2000: 65). The Colonial Bungalow, ‘both in name and form, originated in India, a fact more easily recognized since the creation of Bangladesh. Yet though the name was given by India- from the Hindi or Mahratti Bangla, meaning ‘of or relating to Bengal the dwelling it came to describe was primarily European’ (King, 1995:14).

Initially it was a ‘product of cultures in contact, an indigenous mode of shelter adopted and adapted for Europeans living in India’ (King, 1995:14). It was inspired by a simple Bengali peasant hut and transformed to meet the requirement of the European governing class. The walls of this hut were constructed of mud and the roof was made out of thatch. With time, it became a symbol of European power and influenced the life style, architecture and urban form of India. Thus, bungalows constitute a very special and unique typology in India, with a strong cultural/ historic position as representatives of a by-gone era. ‘Historically they symbolize the individualization of private property, a concept new to the collective lifestyle of traditional societies in India. Over a period of time they were absorbed into Indian society, the imperial roots long forgotten’ (Desai and Desai, 2011: 27).

The bungalow was a free standing, courtyard-less outward facing one or two storey structure, which was located away from the native city and mostly in the suburban areas. The adoption of Western domestic kitchen equipment, furniture and sanitary fittings resulted in the introduction of a new typology of interior spaces- the drawing room, the dining room and the living room. The Indian upper class was anglicized over time and started using cutlery, tableware, cooking utensils, water closet, bathtubs, dining table and sideboards. Social habits like drinks, afternoon tea, and cricket were also introduced in the Indian social life, and concepts like interior decoration were presented for the first time. Thus, through the introduction of the bungalow in the Indian landscape, there was an impact on the living patterns and social behaviour of the native people related to cooking, eating, hygiene, the serving of meals and relaxation (King, 1995:51).

The general planning principles employed for the bungalows in Karachi were similar to those found elsewhere in the British Empire, with longitudinal plans, verandas on front and rear of the buildings to keep the climate comfortable and to provide easy access, thick walls with internal voids for ventilation and exhaust, internal wooden staircases leading to the 1st floor, timber flooring throughout the building, wooden pitched roof to support a large span without
houses to be used as stables. The general plot size was 4000 square yards, with 65% of area left for landscaping. The bungalows had extroverted planning with divisions between formal and informal spaces. The spaces used by the owners of the bungalows covered the maximum built area accommodating the private, semi-private, and public activities of sleeping, dining and entertaining. The areas housing the servants and activities of cooking, ironing and domestic services were kept to the rear of the building. The strict differentiation between the spaces for the two types of activities was intended to keep the domestic staff away from the spaces occupied and used by the British owners of the houses.

The kitchen was thus placed away from the main house, linked via corridors, having a back entrance for the cook and his helpers. Besides social segregation, the distance of the kitchen from the main house also enabled smells and other fumes to be exhausted in the exterior open spaces. The verandas surrounded the bungalows where the Colonial owners or anglicized Indians had tea in the evening. The verandas also housed the staircases connecting the lower floors to the upper level. There were external staircases at the rear of the bungalows for access of the servants to the upper levels. All the toilets had rear entrances for cleaning purposes to ensure social segregation between the owners and servants.

The dominant architectural stylistic features of the bungalows of Karachi were the Corinthian order and tracery work carved in Sandstone. Wooden battens were used to articulate the top of the arches and the edges of the roof. The entrance portal was expressed as an added feature to the main form. It served as the parking space for the vehicle. Some other distinct features of the bungalows of Karachi were the projected round balconies, louvered and French windows and French doors with glass panels. Many of these bungalows were located in Clifton cantonment. Some of them still survive in what is now known as the locality of Old Clifton and is part of Kehkashan Clifton (Figure 6.8 and 6.9). These bungalows laid the roots for the extroverted high-income houses that were to be built throughout the city later on.
Figure 6.8: A typical bungalow ground floor plan for Karachi dating from early 19th century
Source: DAP NED UET

Figure 6.9: View of a Colonial Bungalow still present in Clifton dating from early 19th century
• The relationship of the house with the urban morphology

The Colonial town besides having a gridded street layout, possessed several landmarks that enhanced its urban characteristic. ‘Each quarter could boast its own focal point’ (Lari and Lari 2000, 166). The larger scale urban morphology was based on regular plot divisions, wide streets to accommodate carriages and vehicles, low rise- low-density development with adequate compulsory open space around the built forms to provide for adequate ventilation (Figure 6.10). Parks, gardens and beach promenades were also introduced by the British within the Colonial white town as recreational areas for leisurely stroll of the white men and women.

![Figure 6.10: Bungalows in Karachi in 1890's](http://www.meraforum.com/showthread.php?t=2293 accessed 16-05-2014)

• The response of designs to local climate

The bungalow was oriented to catch the prevailing breeze with rooms side by side and doors and windows opposite to each other to let the breeze through. The plan of the bungalow was generally kept simple with the house surrounded by verandas. The verandas took the stores, servant rest spaces and were used as walkout social space for evening tea (King, 1995:45). Thermal controls like thatch roof with tiles, chicks (blinds made of bamboo and split) for keeping the glare out, wooden screens, *tatties* (screens made of sweet smelling grass fitted to doors and windows) which were splashed with water to have a cooling effect and fans made out of cloth and rotated by cheap available labour were incorporated in the European
Bungalow from within the local context. The walls of the bungalow were 10 feet thick, which also acted as insulation.

The big scale of the bungalow was a prerequisite as it was only a single story structure surrounded by landscape on all side thus the sprawl was essential for cross ventilation. The ‘compound was simply an extension of the bungalow’s internal space, an outdoor room, fulfilling a variety of social, political, cultural and psychological needs’ (King, 1995: 34). Thus the bungalow was ‘centrifugal’ with space flowing from the central living space towards the veranda and onto the landscape in the surrounding compound quite in contrast to the courtyard houses of the native city which were centered around an internal court (King, 1995: 34). The fan was introduced in the veranda by the British, which is still used as a climatically responsive solution for the terraces of modern houses in Karachi.

- The use of global versus local technology, materials, crafts and skills

The British introduced a new standard of brick size 9’x 4.5’x 3’ (Cooper and Dawson, 1998) in the sub-continent. The British also introduced steel girders, cement and corrugated iron in the Indian sub-continent (Khan, 2003).

Glass was introduced in the sub-continent in the 1920s into the traditional buildings as a coloured decorative item by the British (Cooper and Dawson, 1998:40).

Stone was mostly used in the plinth and foundations of the domestic Colonial buildings- as it was readily available in Karachi and is stronger than brick and does not require reinforcement. Stone was mixed with rubble or lime mortar for further strength and to make the houses earthquake resistant. Local artisans were employed to execute Gothic designs on the facades of Bungalows.

- The incorporation and preservation of natural habitats, flora and fauna.

Initially few areas were designated as parks (Burns Garden and Zoological Garden) within Karachi, but eventually the city experienced the construction of parks (a foreign land use before the British introduced it in the sub-continent) and walkways along the beach. The Bandstand and Lady Lloyd Pier in Clifton Karachi are examples of these. The Colonial town was also adorned with heavy tree plantations, many of these trees still survive.
• The amalgamation of local social values and sense of aesthetics versus global imagery.

The Colonial Bungalow produced a form and ‘vocabulary’, which was an amalgamation between local and global sense of social norms and aesthetics. The Colonial Bungalow took the form and architectural elements from the Bengali peasant hut, and translated it into an integral element of the bungalow as it suited the social requirements of the English men and women who occupied it. The Bengali peasant hut was an extroverted building type surrounded by a semi-covered gallery on the exterior, which was used as an extension of the living and working space. According to King (1995) the origins of the gallery around the built central core was inspired by the Bengali peasant hut in which they originally existed and were not a European addition. What is, however, not clear in its origin, according to King, is whether the same roof projected over the balcony as well or a separate roof covered the balcony (King, 1995:24-30). King quotes from Kipling’s account that ‘the double roof bungalow with a clerestory was a later mid nineteenth century development of the earlier version where the roof covers both living rooms and verandas, as an extinguisher covers a candle, and which admits light through the doors only’ (King, 1995:28). The incorporation of the base of the veranda into the foundations of the built form of the bungalow was also a feature adopted from local Bengali peasant hut (King, 1995).

Having adapted from the Bengali Hut, the bungalow introduced new design elements to cater for the social segregation between the Europeans and the natives, and to address the living patterns of the white people. The absence of a sewerage system, combined with the local caste system in India, ensured the location of sanitation on external walls with rear access for servants. The concept of attached bathrooms, carriage porch to shade the vehicle used by the officers, and dining and drawing rooms, was introduced. The servants’ quarters were also part of the bungalow compound, but were located towards the rear end where they were not visible (King, 1995).
6.3. Local power structure and production of built form in Kehkashan Clifton

Having described the morphological evolution of Kehkashan Clifton, this section examines the local power structure related to the decisions taken about the built form, within Kehkashan Clifton.

The Karachi Strategic Development Plan (KSDP) 2020 envisages densification and infill in the locality of Clifton over the next twenty years. It proposes a combination of strategies for densification and infill for Clifton. The study of the urban areas the KSDP 2020 highlights the trend of sprawl by about 10% from 2005 to 2010 in Clifton. Its vision is to view the seaside area as the lung of the city, accessible to all, and the linkage to the city’s heart (which is believed to be Saddar) strengthened. ‘The redevelopment of Clifton Beach and new developments in the bay must maintain public access to the coast and its amenities, and busway linkage to the CBD fostered’ (ECIL, 2007: 31). The development of Clifton is envisaged as a ‘polycentric node’ (ECIL, 2007: 74) with revival and development of the beach, recreational parks and open spaces catering to the locality and the rest of the city as well.

The Karachi Port Trust (KPT) has proposed and implemented certain projects for preserving and developing the beach in front of Generalabad (which is part of the case study). One of the projects is the implementation of breakwater/causeways around Oyster Rocks, an island within the Arabian sea, facing Clifton beach. The objective of this project is to preserve the Oyster Rocks from erosion as the causeway acts as a barrier to breakwater energy (Figure 6.11).
This causeway provides views of the islands; as it does not physically link to the island, but brings people very close to view them. KPT has proposed a food street on the causeway. A Port Fountain has already been built on Oyster Rocks by KPT. KPT has also proposed a bridge to the west of Oyster Rocks creating a shipping channel between the two causeways to reach Clifton beach and developing the Clifton beach into a seaport. The vision here is to develop the project as a gateway to Karachi via the sea. The eastern side, which is near the long causeway, is envisaged to be developed for public use and the western side is to be left for shipping routes. This project is famously called the ‘China Port’ as it is being funded by a Chinese company (Figure 6.12).
Thus, as perceived by the politicians and government agencies, Clifton is envisaged as a locality having global connections via the sea.

The professionals (architects and planners) are divided over the upscale development of Clifton. As evident through the interviews (Appendix 7), one group sees these developments as progressive with a new aesthetic language being introduced in the city, new technology and skills being introduced and a general rise in the building construction quality. The other group of architects shuns these developments as catering to a limited number of people, mostly the elite, being disconnected with contextual realities of the city, and promoting a certain aesthetics which is not necessarily the aesthetics of the majority of the residents of the city as is evident from the following responses:

Respondent 06: “It is more of an image we are after, a ‘Dubai’ type image. It is not sustainable. There is lack of infrastructure and carrying capacity to accommodate this type of high-rise development. I think a small number of people benefit from it. For instance, the market typology of shopping suits us better than the mall typology as only a small percentage can shop in expensive branded shops. The global building typology can be applied to Malls, Banks, and some apartment buildings in Karachi.”

And

Respondent 14: The high architecture is taking more of a fair finished concrete direction. It is the response of a certain clientele. It is not responding to all the sectors of the society. And at times not responding to climatic needs and to historical background. The Pakistani family consists of 4-5 members on an average and the high end malls are expensive for their outreach (Figure 6.13). Even the visual scale does not connect to the street. It is quite monumental. Thus, the scale of the façade matters.
The everyday consumers of Clifton are divided over their view about the built form in their locality. The younger generation, as established via a focus group held in Generalabad Clifton (Appendix 6), identifies with the tall buildings clad in glass and metal, and calls it ‘progressive’ development for the city, whereas the older generation is more interested in seeing the issues of infrastructure and water provision solved in their localities. They are sceptical of these developments and see them as threats, as, according to them, the upscale developments will eventually force them to shift out of the area because of the rise in the real estate value.
With the development of the beach in front of the settlement and the connection of the railway lines to the settlements across the beach Generalabad is bound to get effected. A high water fountain has been made in the beach in front of Generalabad which is supposed to be the highest in the region but how does that benefit the settlement? It’s a development for the foreigners and the rich and it doesn’t get us water, sewerage or electricity. Reclamation of the land on the beach affects us and so does the development of the China Port’ (Respondent S-5 in focus group held in Generalabad)

6.4. Pre requisites for localness

Clifton Kehkashan falls within the formal jurisdiction of Saddar Town in District south (Table 6.1). Karachi Municipal Cooperation (KMC) and Clifton Cantonment Board are responsible for the road development, municipal services (water, sanitation, solid waste, repairing roads, parks, street lights, and traffic engineering), and general maintenance of different localities within Clifton Kehkashan.

![Diagram of governance structure]

Table 6.1: The formal system of governance along Clifton Kehkashan
Source: www.cdkg.com accessed 29-04-14
Clifton Kehkashan is a planned area, with pockets of unplanned housing, serving the household requirements of the urban rich. The planned areas have adequate infrastructure provision and maintenance is undertaken by Sui Southern Gas Company (SSGC), Karachi Electric, KMC and Clifton Cantonment. The provision of electricity is regular, with few disruptions during the summer months. Water is supplied through individual lines in the entire locality. Generally, the water supply is sufficient, with occasional need to provide water through water trucks. There are no major problems with the drainage and waste collection systems, put in place by the local government, and managed through Cantonment board.

Services such as health and education are provided by the private sector. The locality has weak land use controls and residences with big plot sizes often get converted into privately run schools. The area has many private schools catering to the elite.

The unplanned areas within Kehkashan Clifton face a shortage of water and absence of proper sewerage lines. They also complain of the lack of health workers, clinics and primary schools for their children and families within the locality.

The locality falls within the jurisdiction of CDGK, thus, by policy it should follow building regulations outlined in the Karachi Building and Town Planning Regulations 2004. As mentioned previously, this document does not have any regulations for the open spaces or for clusters of buildings. The focus is on individual buildings, and the premise is that by fixing one structure the impact can be felt on the locality at large. This, coupled with weak byelaws enforcement sees many ad-hoc developments within the locality, and the conversion of residential plots into commercial uses.
6.5. Local tangibles

This section analyses the typology of the built form, open to built ratios and landuse of Kehkashan Clifton. The scale of the built form, as perceived by the users and the definition of the limits of the neighbourhoods is also analysed. It also addresses the responsiveness of the built form with respect to authenticity, adaptability, particularity, patina and connectivity as outlined in Chapter Two.

50% of the land use of the whole of Kehkashan Clifton is residential, 10% is commercial, 15% is mixed use (residential plus commercial) and 25% is amenities. The locality is a low density settlement with several parks incorporated within its planning. The general built up trend is ground plus one with apartments mainly located on the main arteries of the locality. These apartments go up to eight stories and have shops on the ground level. About 75% of the building stock is ground plus one, 15% is ground plus four and 10% is ground plus eight. Only a couple of recent commercial developments go higher than ground plus eight.

The case study area of Kehkashan Clifton has a total area of 1,950 acres. Two neighbourhoods have been chosen within Clifton for detailed research, documentation and analysis: namely Generalabad and Block 5. Generalabad is a low income settlement located on the periphery of Clifton and connected via major arteries whereas Block 5 is a high income locality centrally located in the heart of Clifton (Figure 6.14).

Figure 6.14: The case study areas within Kehkashan Clifton
Both the case study areas comprise a gridded urban street pattern with low density and mixed land use. The built up density in the two case study areas is 81.22% (Generalabad) and 49% (Block 5). The dominant modes of transport are motor bikes, cars and buses. According to the interviews conducted in the case study areas, the residents of Generalabad perceive the boundaries of their neighbourhood according to the bus stops in the vicinity, although the locality has street numbers and road names, these are secondary in their association about the boundaries of the neighbourhood. The residents of Block 5, related to the boundaries of the neighbourhood via the landmarks in the area, these landmarks could be a school, a restaurant or a historical recreational building. Very few respondents (two out of fifteen) identified the limits of the neighbourhood with the current governance structure.

Generalabad colony is a low income housing settlement, with residential land use dominating the locality. It has a gridded urban street layout, with all streets leading to the railway tracks at the rear. The streets are narrow with no vehicular access (Figure 6.15). The street is an extension of the house, and is utilized for socializing by men and by children playing. The locality is a Pathan dominant area, thus women socializing on the streets is not seen. Women stay indoors and are rarely seen outside their homes, as this is a requirement of the cultural norms of the community.

[Figure 6.15: The narrow street of Generalabad]
Figures 6.16: The ground plus one residential development in Generalabad

The majority of the residential buildings are ground plus one (Figure 6.16). A trend is however seen of going higher (up to ground plus five) with the new structures coming up on the primary roads of the locality (Figure 6.17). The residential typology of apartments is also being introduced, along with a new language for the facades, which are being clad in materials like tiles and make use of pre-fabricated screens (Figure 6.17).

Figure 6.17: Newer building in the locality of Generalabad

The area around the railway lines serves as the open space for the locality and many men can often been seen socializing there. The railway tracks are only used twice a day by local trains thus, during the rest of the day the area is safe for the children to play around (Figure 6.18).
The open ground of the railway lines is also used for informal parking by transporters, and many informal grocery shops serving the locality have sprung up (Figure 6.19).

On the other hand, Block 5 Clifton is a high income residential settlement in close proximity to Generalabad Clifton. The dominant built up typology here is also ground plus one. Taller buildings are seen on the primary roads. Primary roads also house commercial uses and office buildings. Many parks dot the locality making the open built ratios as low as 50:50. The secondary roads are as wide as 25 feet as car ownership is high within the area. The locality also houses many consulates and residences for consulate generals resulting in the requirement for a certain aesthetic image for the area to be maintained (Figure 6.20). The building typologies are mostly detached houses on plot sizes of 1000sq yards (Figure 6.21). With the recent rise in the real estate value however, a trend of sub dividing the larger plots into smaller ones is seen.
Figure 6.20: The British Consulate in Kehkashan Clifton

Figure 6.21: The houses in Clifton Block 5
Figure 6.22: The parks of Clifton Block 5

As the locality is dominated by large plots the residents are not seen socializing on the streets, because all these houses have lawns within their plots, and elders mostly socialize there in the evenings. Children play within their houses or in the nearby parks. The area is dotted with trees, which adds to the aesthetic quality of the locality, along with the presence of the parks (Figure 6.22). These parks were previously open grounds (in 2010) which were used by young men for playing ball games, as they were freely accessible. With the development of these grounds into designed parks, the users have changed from children and teenagers to the elderly. The entry to the parks is restricted to families and they have an entrance fees and ball games are not allowed.

The primary roads of Block 5 Clifton house many cafes and restaurants; some of these serve at the city level and have overtime acquired the image of landmarks for the locality (Figure 6.23).
Figure 6.23: **BBQ Tonight- a restaurant which has over the years become a landmark**

Many schools dot Block 5 Clifton. Most of these are housed within bungalows and only a couple of them have purpose built campuses. Land use controls are weak within the locality, thus, these ad hoc land uses spring up in bungalows, but the control over height restrictions are strong and the bungalows located along secondary roads are not allowed to go beyond ground plus one, no matter what their land use is.

The bandstand and Lady Lloyd Pier, food street at Boat basin (Figure 6.24), the Park Towers Mall, the Mausoleum of Abdullah Shah Ghazi (Figure 6.25), Mohatta Palace Museum and the upcoming Bahria Icon (Figure 6.26) are some of the important landmarks of Block 5 Clifton (Figure 6.27).

Figure 6.24: **The Band Stand (left) and boat basin food street (right)**
Figure 6.25: The park towers mall (left) and Mausoleum of Abdullah Shah Ghazi before renovation (right)

Figure 6.26: The Mohatta Palace Museum (left) and the Bahria Icon (right)

Figure 6.27: Important places within Clifton

1 Band Stand
2 Boat Basin food street
3 Park towers mall
4 Shrine of Abdullah Shah Ghazi
5 Mohatta Palace Museum
6 Bahria Icon
The urban scale of Generalabad is based on regular plot divisions (Figure 6.28). The residential plots are mostly 100 square yards. The secondary streets are as narrow as 3’7”, thus, vehicular traffic is limited to primary roads. This works with the socio-economic setup of the locality, as it helps in maintaining privacy, and the secondary roads do not become thoroughfares for traffic. As car ownership is non-existent in the locality, there is no requirement for wide roads. Amenities like schools, clinics and parks face the primary road and have access to vehicular traffic.
The urban form of Block 5 Clifton is also based on regular plot divisions (Figure 6.29). The residential plots are mostly 500 to 1000 square yards. The secondary streets are as wide as 22’7”, providing easy access to vehicular traffic. Access by traffic is a primary requirement of the locality as car ownership is high. Amenities like schools, clinics and parks are integrated within the residential fabric and are not necessarily located on the periphery or the primary roads.

The boundaries of the locality of Generalabad are perceived in different ways by the residents. Some see it as defined by the boundaries of the main road and the railway lines, others as a locality defined by the bus stops that they use for daily commuting, and still others define it as part of a bigger area, with edges defined by the railway lines and main roads (Figure 6.30). This information is based on the maps drawn by residents in the case study area (Appendix 12).
For the residents of Generalabad, different spaces within the neighbourhood were important (according to the qualitative interviews conducted in the area, Appendix 9). These vary from the railway lines, to the government school, to the beach. The reason for giving importance to these areas is either because they serve as social gathering spaces for the community (space around railways lines, jirgah, park, beach) or as landmarks that are used to define the limits of the locality (Ziauddin hospital, railway line). There is a custom within the locality of Generalabad that a committee based on the elders gets together regularly to decide on important matters related to the neighbourhood. These elders (men only) meet regularly, or as and when required. They have designated an area along the railway lines where they meet, and the area is defined by a few benches (Figure 6.31). This is known as the jirgah and is an informal system of decision making, but is acknowledged and respected by formal governance structures. A jirgah is a traditional assembly of the leaders that make decisions by consensus according to the teachings of Islam, and is a cultural and ethnic practice taking place in the Khyber Pakhtunkhawa (KPK) province, from where the residents of Generalabad originate. The decisions taken in a jirgah range from urban infrastructure, to family feuds, to inheritance, to marriages, to adultery. The jirgah is very traditional in its outlook, and women are not allowed to participate. They are considered not knowledgeable enough, as they live a segregated life staying mostly indoors. Any issue that a member of the community faces is
discussed and decided in the *jirgah*, which cannot be challenged by the community or by any formal system of governance. Only the people belonging to the same ethnicity can be a part of this informal decision making process. Since the *jirgah* is an ethnically and religiously unified group of people, social aspects of *maqamiat* in the form of community empowerment and mobilization are an inherent part of it. Decisions about the provision of sewerage and water lines through community mobilization are taken by the *jirgah* in Generalabad and followed up successfully with the government. The *jirgah* appoints people from within the community to liaison and follow up with the government.

![Jirgah along the Railway lines](image)

*Figure 6.31: Jirgah along the Railway lines*

The areas within the locality which were pointed out as important during the stakeholder interviews and focus group discussion are mapped in Figure 6.32 and Table 6.2.

![Places important for people within Generalabad and its immediate vicinity](image)

*Figure 6.32: Places important for people within Generalabad and its immediate vicinity*
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Name of built form</th>
<th>Typology</th>
<th>Image</th>
<th>Name of built form</th>
<th>Typology</th>
<th>Image</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Railway lines</td>
<td>Infrastructure</td>
<td></td>
<td>Ziauddin Hospital</td>
<td>Building</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Wood yard and government school</td>
<td>Building</td>
<td></td>
<td>Sunshine Apartments</td>
<td>Building</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jirgha</td>
<td>Open space</td>
<td></td>
<td>Arabian Sea</td>
<td>Beach</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>Behbood Park</td>
<td>Park</td>
<td></td>
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</tbody>
</table>

Table 6.2: Places important for people within Block 5 Clifton and its immediate vicinity
The built form highlighted by the residents of Block 5 Clifton in the interviews (Figure 6.33 and Table 6.3) included the food street at Boating Basin, buildings like the British Consulate and Karachi Grammar School, the recreational areas of the Band Stand, Lady Lloyd Pier and the beach. They also mentioned the Dolmen Mall, which is beyond the limits of Clifton Block 5 but is an important entertainment space for the residents of Block 5 where they visit for their shopping needs and the food court. All these spaces and built forms are frequented by the residents of Block 5 Clifton for fulfilling their social and recreational requirements.

Figure 6.33: Important built form in Block 5 Clifton and its immediate vicinity
(as highlighted in focus group and stake holder interviews)
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Name of built form</th>
<th>Typology</th>
<th>Image</th>
<th>Name of built form</th>
<th>Typology</th>
<th>Image</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1. Boating basin</td>
<td>Food street</td>
<td><img src="image1.png" alt="Boating basin" /></td>
<td>6. Band Stand and Lady Lloyd Pier</td>
<td>Walkway/Monument</td>
<td><img src="image2.png" alt="Monument" /></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. Karachi Grammar School</td>
<td>Building</td>
<td><img src="image3.png" alt="Karachi Grammar School" /></td>
<td>7. Mohatta Palace</td>
<td>Museum</td>
<td><img src="image4.png" alt="Mohatta Palace" /></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. British Consulate</td>
<td>Building</td>
<td><img src="image5.png" alt="British Consulate" /></td>
<td>8. Dolmen Mall</td>
<td>Shopping Mall</td>
<td><img src="image6.png" alt="Dolmen Mall" /></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4. Bar B Q Tonight Restaurant</td>
<td>Building</td>
<td><img src="image7.png" alt="Bar B Q Tonight Restaurant" /></td>
<td>9. Arabian Sea</td>
<td>Beach</td>
<td><img src="image8.png" alt="Arabian Sea" /></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5. BilawalChowrangi</td>
<td>Round about</td>
<td><img src="image9.png" alt="BilawalChowrangi" /></td>
<td>10. Zardari House</td>
<td>Building</td>
<td><img src="image10.png" alt="Zardari House" /></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*Table 6.3: Important built form as highlighted in Block 5 Clifton and immediate vicinity*
Table 6.4 documents the meaning and usage related to different urban morphological elements, as reported by residents of Generalabad in the focus group discussion (Appendix 6). The participants defined the edge of the locality as the railway lines (Figure 6.34) and the main road (Figure 6.35). The open area around the railway lines and the local mosque (Figure 6.36) were pointed out as important social nodes. The streets double up as social/recreational spaces for children, and the railway line doubles up as an edge where children play. The church, the lumberyard (Figure 6.37), the local park and the government school (Figure 6.38) were pointed out as important landmarks which have existed since the inception of the neighbourhood and with which residents associate some meaning. These structures give the residents a sense of continuity, spatially and temporally. The participants of the focus group discussion could not read the maps, as they did not have formal education beyond primary level, thus the information was gathered verbally and mapped by the researcher (Appendix 12).

*Figure 6.34: The railway line as an edge  Figure 6.35: Main road adjoining Generalabad and social space for residents of Generalabad*
Figure 6.36: Mosque and religious school in Generalabad

Figure 6.37: The lumberyard in Generalabad

Figure 6.38: The neighbourhood school in Generalabad
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Reference from Focus group</th>
<th>Paths</th>
<th>Edges</th>
<th>Nodes</th>
<th>Districts</th>
<th>Landmarks</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>• The strip of land between the main road Shahra-e-Ghalib and railway lines is Generalabad Colony. (S-5) • It is part of Korangi Town. (S-1)</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>• We sit together in the evening on the sides of the railway track (S-4)</td>
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<tr>
<td>• Women of the community observe ‘pardah’ thus they stay indoors and socialize with other women within their households (S-1) • The other place for socializing for men in the mosque (S-3)</td>
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<td></td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>• Young children play in the streets in front of their houses whereas older kids play in the open land around the railway lines (S-4)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• The church, the wood yard, the railway line, Behbood Park, Government school and the mosque has been present here since the inception of this settlement</td>
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<tr>
<td>• The wooden yard is a specific characteristic of Generalabad (S-4) • The railway line as the open plot is also a specific characteristic of Generalabad (S-5)</td>
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|       |       |       |       |           |           |

*Table 6.4: Meaning and usage related to 05 morphological elements (highlighted by Lynch (1960)) as explained by residents and shop owners in Generalabad (author)*
The residents feel that the particularity of the neighbourhood stems from the fact that the locality is in close proximity to porch areas, and is well served via public transport offering the area particularity in terms of real estate values (Appendix 9). This is complemented by the fact that the majority of the area is leased unlike other low-income settlements in the city. Yet another particularity is offered by the fact that the locality has block and street numbers giving a sense of ownership and belonging to the residents. This is not the norm in the rest of the city where low-income settlements may not always have street names and house number, especially if they are neighbourhoods, which have not been issued property lease by the official bodies.

As Generalabad is a low-income settlement, the implementation of building controls is weak. This gives the residents the possibility of adapting their structures to their social and economic requirements. The houses expand vertically in an incremental manner. The individual houses allow the possibility of adaptability to accommodate the increasing household sizes and more than one household (Figure 6.39). The weak controls also result in adaptation of public spaces for purposes they are not meant for, for instance the open space around railway lines is being used for socializing and playing area, by adults and children respectively.

*Figure 6.39: Incremental development of houses in Generalabad*
On one hand, the proximity of the settlement to the elite neighbourhoods and developed areas is seen as a potential by the residents, and on the other hand, it is also seen as a threat, as the builders and developers eye the locality for upscale development. The threat is increased by the accessibility the settlement offers. The proximity to the beach offers another threat to the area, as there is a general trend of developing localities close to the beach as upscale housing scheme, in order to promote a global image of the city. With the development of the China Port along the beach right across Generalabad, residents fear the conversion of their settlement into a high-income residential area in the future.

In the settlement of Generalabad, on one hand the conservation of traditional setups in the form of allocating a space for the *jirgah* and keeping the women away from public life, is witnessed, and on the other hand, the residents have welcomed progress through renting out space for a technology tower within their settlement (Figure 6.40). The residents also work towards upkeep and improvement of health, education and other amenities within their settlement, which also points towards a progressive mentality.

*Figure 6.40: Space rented out for setting up the technology tower in Generalabad.*

As mentioned previously, the elders were sceptical of the rapid infrastructure development happening within the vicinity. The development of the Bahria Icon and the related infrastructure (underpasses and overhead bridges) (Figure 6.41) were viewed as a threat to the old structures (the Mausoleum and the Hindu Temple).
Figure 6.41: Development of the infrastructure and Bahria Icon as viewed from the Mausoleum of Abdullah Shah Ghazi
As mentioned in Chapter Five, connectivity of a neighbourhood is generally considered a positive attribute as it encourages pedestrian and vehicular flow and avoids severing neighbourhoods. Urban forms, which have low accessibility, discourage movement on foot and force people to take longer routes via cars.

According to the integration analysis of Generalabad (using space syntax tool) the primary roads are most integrated whereas the secondary and tertiary roads are least integrated (Figure 6.42). The residents find the locality easily accessible and cognitively simple as outlined in the focus group interview (Appendix 9).

Another form of space syntax analysis that was undertaken for Generalabad was connectivity analysis. As mentioned in Chapter Five, connectivity measures the number of immediate neighbours that are directly connected to an area within a locality. This is a static local measure, which means it only takes into account the direct neighbours of an element. According to the connectivity analysis, Generalabad (using space syntax tool) appeared more connected than integrated with the immediate neighbourhood on the local scale (Figure 6.43).
The integration and connectivity analysis for Block 5 Clifton showed it as less connected (Figures 6.44 and 6.45). As it is a vehicle dependent area both integration and connectivity are minimal.
Figure 6.44: Integration analysis of Block 5 Clifton

Figure 6.45: Connectivity analysis of Block 5 Clifton
6.6. Local intangibles

The intangibles that help explain *maqamiat* of the built form is the structure of the society in terms of its ethnicity and demographics. This section analyses the reading and interpretation of the built form with respect to social responsiveness, and is largely based on the data obtained via stakeholder interviews and focus group discussions. The role of the built form in the co-existence of the communities, the social meanings associated with the built form and ideas about place attachment are reviewed here.

The planned area within Clifton has mixed ethnicities and mixed political allegiance. The unplanned areas are mostly ethnically homogenous. The development of low-income areas in the city follows a certain process, where one family coming from a rural area settles in the city and then asks other members of the same ethnicity to join them. The low-income settlements are usually supported via political patronage. This support gives them economic and political security, as when the locality has consolidated over a number of years the settlers can apply for regularization and lease documents. According to the focus group conducted in Generalabad (Appendix 6), an unplanned area within Clifton, the political and ethnic homogeneity helps the residents to approach the local government and lobby for issues like lease of plots, provision of infrastructure and preparation of plans for their localities as ethnicity is a common bond between them and they are able to operate as one force.

Generally, because of the presence of the beach people from the entire city associate with Clifton. The middle income and the low-income groups are the major users of the beach, although a smaller percentage of the high-income groups also frequent the beach. The citizens do not talk about going to the beach, they talk about picnicking in Clifton. The recreation opportunities like Fun Land, the presence of the Mausoleum and the Temple, and the recently constructed Dolmen Mall add to the experience of the picnickers. A couple of parks in the vicinity, the Bagh-e-ibn Qasim (measuring 246 acres) and Beach park (3.7 kms) offer other attractions for the middle and low income visitors to the area. These two parks are recent additions to the locality and they serve as hang out spaces for families visiting the locality to enjoy the sea breeze. The beach park has vendors and hawkers catering to the lower income group and middle class. The park stands between the seashore and the road, and people can only access this part of the beach if they buy a ticket to the park. There is also a parking fee for cars, bikes and buses. Although a fee has to be paid to use this part of the
beach, families prefer visiting this beach because of the variety of entertainment available here, ranging from bandar wala (monkey shows) to vendors selling handicraft items, weight machine vendors, fortune-tellers and food item hawkers. Certain makeshift stalls are also found at weekends. The beach is a place for cultural exposure and interaction on certain days when festivals are organized here. Washrooms facilities are also available for a charge.

Stakeholders along the beach of Karachi vary from hawkers, restaurants owners, visitors, vendors, residents and shop owners. These stakeholders have different types of interest in the area, which are not necessarily being addressed in the current development of the area as envisaged by politicians and developers. Their focus is more on upscale, enclosed development in the form of malls, cinemas and shopping complexes, which is disconnected with the reality of the stakeholders using the beach on a daily basis. The activities taking place on the beach include kite flying, children playing, camel and horse riding, beach buggying and morning and evening walks.

The festive and spiritual activities of Abdullah Shah Ghazi’s Mausoleum start on Thursday after dark, and end on Sunday. This activity attracts thousands of people on a daily basis from within the city and the rest of the country. These people visit the shrine to pay offerings and niyaz (offering food in the name of Said). The pilgrims visit the beach in the vicinity. The traditional route adopted by the pilgrims to reach the beach has become a heritage walk in itself. The narrow street next to the Mausoleum is a pedestrian route, which is extremely crowded on the weekends. This route is crowded by the small-time hawkers, street vendors and hawkers catering to the middle income and lower income group who enjoy shopping here. The items price ranges from Pak Rs.5 to Rs.100 (US $ 0.05 to US $ 1).

Another major attraction, adjacent to the Mausoleum is the Fun Land. This is a source of recreation and entertainment, including joyrides. The Fun Land has affordable fares attracting people from different classes for purposes of recreation. Recently, however with the construction of the 62 storey building Bahria Icon adjacent to the Mausoleum, the approach to the Mausoleum and the Fun Land has been adversely affected. The roads have been sealed off and the entrances to these two facilities have been revised as the construction of the Tower is accompanied by massive infrastructure development in the form of underpasses and overhead bridges.
As the upscale developments are aimed towards gaining maximum profit the local stakeholders, vendors and hawkers are being removed or minimized, with their replacement of newly built kiosks and restaurants. The stakeholders that are still present on the beach pay bhatta (bribes) to the police that affect their daily income.

Generalabad

In a low income settlement like Generalabad, which is located in close proximity to the Clifton beach, the impacts of these upscale developments are enormous, as there is a threat of eviction despite the fact that the locality is a leased settlement. The security of ownership is important for the residents, and they take pride in the fact that they are the first residents of the area and have managed to get 80% of the houses leased. They also take pride in the fact that the locality has a homogenous ethnicity living in close proximity to people belonging to other ethnicities, (there is a Christian colony in the neighbourhood) peacefully in a city that is generally troubled by ethnic rivalry.

In Generalabad, the open land around the railway track has been adapted for social purposes by elders and children. The streets have also been adapted for social and recreational purposes by children. This is possible because the narrow streets do not allow any vehicular traffic. This possibility of adaptation of the open land to the social requirement gives the area residents a sense of belonging to the locality.

The open area around the railway lines provides opportunities for different types of economic activities to spring up, informally which cater to the locality of Generalabad. Activities like grocery shops and gaming areas are seen along the railway lines. The gaming area around the snooker table (called dubbo locally) (Figure 6.46) is an important socializing area for the residents too, especially men and young boys, but not women because women stay indoor due to social and cultural norms.
Figure 6.46: Economic (left) and entertainment (right) activities along the railway lines in Generalabad

The weak regulation controls of the built form allow it to be adapted to household economic needs as well. This is appreciated by the residents of the area, who belong to low income groups, and feel the need to accommodate economic activities like religious schools, tuition centres and cottage industries within their household to earn extra income.

**Block 5 Clifton**

As this is a high-income neighbourhood in the vicinity of the Clifton beach, it has experienced a rise in real estate values with the new developments. According to the interviews, the residents see these developments positively, although the burden on the infrastructure of the locality in terms of shortage of water and traffic congestion is not appreciated.

In Block 5 Clifton, residents interact within their households or in the neighbourhood park. The streets are devoid of any social value for the residents, and are mostly used by the domestic staff for sitting around for a chat at the end of the day. In the interviews the residents pointed out some buildings as major landmarks for the locality, but they see these buildings only as markers and do not have any social affiliation with them (Appendix 9).

In addition, the formal shops accommodate the economic activities. These are located on the primary arteries of the locality. There is however, evidence of economic activity seeping into the secondary arteries of the neighbourhood in the shape of clinics and schools on plots designated for residential use. This unchecked change in land use is disliked by the area residents, as it creates congestion and noise pollution.
6.7. Competing variables and localness

This section examines how the built form in the case study area has accommodated the economic growth of the locality. The local and global economic interdependence and the consequent adaptive response of the built form are examined.

Kehkashan Clifton, as mentioned previously, is envisaged as the new Central Business District (CBD) for Karachi. The locality is being developed with this vision, and a number of new high-rise buildings have sprung up in the area over the last few years. The use of these is commercial, with lower levels accommodating shopping malls and upper levels accommodating offices, cinemas, eateries and in door gaming areas for children. One such recent development is the Bahria Icon. Bahria Icon is a 62 floors tower housing offices, hotel, shopping mall and cinemas. It is claimed that when completed it will be the tallest building in Pakistan (Figure 6.47).

Figure 6.47: Bahria Icon under construction
At 62 storeys, the tower is redefining the skyline of the city. It is located between the Mausoleum of Abdullah Shah Ghazi and the Mahadev Temple. Bahria Developers have also undertaken the task of redesigning the external façade and open area around the Mausoleum of Abdullah Shah Ghazi as a goodwill gesture. The entrance to the Mausoleum has been relocated to facilitate the entrance to the Bahria Icon. In an interview with the Auqaf (the trust) Department of the Mausoleum, the manager was all praise for the Bahria Developers. According to him, the Mausoleum required this uplift and expansion of the public facilities (Figure 6.48).

“The design is being executed by designers of Bahria Town and it includes a mosque, car park, hospital, shops and a langar khana (where free food is distributed). Everything is being designed according to a larger master plan. I think the effort undertaken should be appreciated rather than criticized. There is also a plan to implement which will look into tightening the security of the area. The area will become beautiful and more and more people will come to the mausoleum. The redesigning is not disturbing the existing facilities which are of historical importance and only some of the routes and entrances to these facilities are being redesigned” (Manager Auqaf Department at the Mausoleum of Abdullah Shah Ghazi)

The enormous height of the Bahria Icon did not seem to bother the manager of the Auqaf Department, and the interviewee cited the example of Mecca where the adjoining hotels over shadowed the Kaaba in height.
The Bahria Icon is not only altering the skyline of the city, it is also reinforcing the glass and steel vocabulary of the built form (Figure 6.49), which may not be a climatically sustainable solution in a context where frequent power failures are the norm. The building will be heavily dependent on artificial lighting and ventilation for the operation of the lifts and escalators.
Malik Riaz, the owner of Bahria Developers, has the political patronage of the government. In all their real estates developments, Bahria Developer’s design and develop the infrastructure around their new projects in order to ease circulation around their buildings. This is the case with the development of Bahria Icon also. The entire road structure around the tower has been revised, incorporating an underpass and an overhead bridge. The existing Hindu temple (Figure 6.50), the Lady Lloyd Pier and Bandstand have been physically damaged in the process. The Hindu community raised their objection, but not too much avail. The road infrastructure blocks the view to the Lady Lloyd Pier and Bandstand (Figure 6.51) and does not incorporate pedestrians coming to the Mausoleum and the temple via public transport. No pedestrian overhead bridges or pathways were a part of the initial design, but a pedestrian underpass is not being constructed, to facilitate the people visiting the Mausoleum.
With the construction of the Bahria Icon, the precedence has been set in Karachi that if a developer has political patronage, it can go around shaping the city, at will without any public consultation and participation. In the process, landmark buildings can be damaged and ignored de destructing the local aspects of the context.
6.8. Conclusion

It can be concluded that there is a discrepancy between how the politicians and government representatives perceive the development of Kehkashan Clifton and how the residents want it to be developed. The government envisages the locality as an upscale residential development located on a beachfront, whereas the residents perceive it largely as a residential area and are more concerned about adequate infrastructure and water provision, than seeing the locality changing with time, because of global influences.

The section on the tangible aspects of *maqamiat* was aimed at exploring the meaning and its multiplicity that the residents and shop owners attach to the environmental responsiveness of the built form. The built form was found to be environmentally responsive and is reflected a sense of identity for communities in terms of authenticity, adaptability, patina, particularity and permeability. There are various buildings that are seen as landmarks within the locality and provide a sense of continuity and identity to the residents. The bungalow, Lady Lloyd Pier and Band stand are built forms that have continued to survive in the locality since its inception by the Colonists.

The historical evolution of the case study area, from a remote place connected via a dirt road to the main city during the Colonial times, to the thriving city centre today housing malls, hotels, embassies, parks, cinemas, retail and housing facility, located on the beach front, points towards the economic potential of the area. The built form of the bungalows, that survived over the years in the planned part of the locality, as an intrinsic part of the morphology of the locality, offers some design and detail lessons with regards to *maqamiat*, such as the usage of ventilators, bamboo blinds, external gardens and separation of public and private functions.

In terms of the intangible aspects of *maqamiat*, the sense of social attachment is strong amongst the low income neighbourhoods where the streets and open spaces, like the railway lines, are used as a space for socializing by residents, and gives them a sense of security and belonging.

The findings from the case study allow us to reiterate that in the context of Karachi urban interventions may not correspond to any pre-defined framework, they can be incoherent and ad hoc, as the Bahria Icon intervention reviewed here shows. In the peculiar context of
Karachi, where a builder take decisions about the built form, any conceptual or development frameworks are overshadowed. Some built form has been retained in its original shape over the years. The Mausoleum of Abdullah Shah Ghazi was retained, revamped and planned within the Bahria Icon Master Plan, so was the Fun Land and the Bagh-e-Ibn-Qasim Park, but the Mahadev Temple, the Lady Lloyd Pier and the Band stand had to give in. Although these structures still remain in their place, they have been overshadowed by the newer development and the entrances to them have become secondary features within the overall master plan for Bahria Icon. The reason for this can be seen as religious and social affiliations of the majority of people visiting Clifton with the Mausoleum, the Fun Land and the Park. The Hindu Temple is frequented by a few Hindus (who are a religious minority in the city) on Sunday’s only.

The next Chapter provides an evaluation of the two case studies presented in Chapter Five and Six, in terms of maqamiyat of the built form. It also analyses the structure of analysis of the case studies, the questions asked in the field and the feedback received along with the research methods used.

Following the case study research, the results were presented before a group of well-known architects and planners from the city, and their feedback was taken with regards to the localness of built form in the city. The next Chapter reports the feedback obtained in this workshop. The concepts of localness developed in the initial chapters are linked up to the feedback received in the workshop. The next Chapter also reflects on the presentation of the case study findings to the group of professionals and on the comments and feedback received.
Chapter 7

Evaluating the Field Work

7.1. Introduction

Following the two case studies presented in the Chapters Five and Six, this chapter evaluates the structure of analysis of the case studies and analytically reviews the questions asked in the field, the feedback received and the research methods used. The objective is to evaluate the fieldwork and review the appropriateness of the method used. Furthermore, this Chapter also evaluates and interprets the fieldwork in terms of the literature reviewed in Chapter Two, thus triangulating the data.

Following the case study research, the results were presented before a group of architects and planners from Karachi and their feedback was taken about the maqamiat of built form in the city (Appendix 2). This Chapter is informed by the feedback obtained in this workshop, and how the feedback adds to the concepts of localness developed in the initial chapters and to the conceptual framework developed in Chapter Two. In doing so this Chapter also reflects on how the case study findings were presented to the group of professionals and on the comments and feedback received.

This chapter answers the following questions:

1. Is the concept of maqamiat of built form useful?
2. In Karachi, what is maqamiat of built form?
3. What are the tangible and intangible aspects of maqamiat in Karachi?
4. Is a development framework required that is appropriate to deliver locally informed built form in Karachi, if so what type what be appropriate?

The Chapter is divided into four sections. Section 7.2. reviews and analyses the structure of analysis of the case studies, the questions asked in the field, the feedback received and the research methodology used for collecting data in the field.
Section 7.3 critically reviews the concepts of localness developed in Chapter Two with respect to the case studies. In doing so, this section attempts to answer questions 1, 2 and 3, above with respect to the case studies. The proposition that these conclusions about *maqamiat* are applicable in any context is also discussed.

Sections 7.4 and 7.5 describe the workshop method and set out to evaluate the knowledge contribution of the workshop. These sections link up the feedback received to the conceptual framework developed in Chapter Two, to the contribution that can be made to the literature and to the development of a framework that would be appropriate to deliver locally informed built form in the case Karachi. Thus, the objective of these sections is to move from analysis to feedback and recommendations.

Section 7.6 reflects on the use of language in the course of the discussion during the workshop and the semi-structured interviews, to describe spaces within the case study and the city in general. The objective is to identify words that are used to describe *maqamiat* and ask if those words are translatable into English, and the way local residents, architects and planners think about the vernacular analysis of space and buildings. The intention of this analysis is also to develop an understanding of place, and identify words which are losing their meanings, and in turn concepts of space which are losing their validity, because language refers to special characteristics of a place. Another objective of the discourse analysis of the workshop and the semi-structured interviews, is to highlight contemporary words being used to describe space by architects and planners, and their meaning and connotation for *maqamiat* of built form.

### 7.2. Evaluation of the Case studies method

The method of case study documentation revolved around the use of semi-structured interviews with stakeholders, focus group discussions, photographic documentation, morphological documentation and archive review. This section reviews each of these methods and its appropriateness in analysing *maqamiat*.

1. **Semi structured interviews**: This method worked well for collecting data because the questions outlined in the questionnaire became prompts for the people being interviewed and the answers took a narrative format. As the questions were open-ended (7-10 questions were asked), the respondents found them easy to answer. Including different
genders and age groups also helped in getting responses over a wide spectrum. The different aspects of *maqamiat* identified in the literature were used to frame the questions. Questions related to the decision making process, role of key actors and regional and global role of Karachi were asked from the government representatives. The government representatives were reluctant to discuss issues of corruption and non-adherence of planning practice to building byelaws and regulations. Questions related to environmental, economic and social responsiveness of the built form in Karachi, and the approach taken towards design yielded rich discussions with professionals. Reference made to the analyses of regional vernacular, in terms of climatic solutions and socio-economic responsive, stressed the importance of both the tangible and intangible aspects of *maqamiat*.

The everyday users of the built form spoke about what they valued in the built form, how they perceived the boundaries of their neighbourhood and how they associated with the built form on a daily basis. These responses helped understand the tangible and intangible role of *maqamiat* in the case study areas.

2. **Focus group discussion**: Although the focus groups (1 focus group in each case study area) proved to be a vital source for collecting information, as it offered a platform to debate the research at hand, both the focus groups were male dominated. The debate generated in the focus groups helped highlight different aspects of the built form that are valued by residents. It also helped in analysing the different ways space is used and associated with, by people from different occupations and age groups (Appendices 5 & 6).

It would have been beneficial to have two separate focus groups for men and women. The researcher tried to arrange a women only focus group but could not succeed, because of social norms the women were not allowed to participate in the focus groups. As mentioned previously, the women in the case study area of Generalabad, belong to the *Pakhtoon* tribe and are expected to stay indoors and socialize with women of the same community. As for Old Town, women themselves were reluctant to be part of a focus group, as they did not consider themselves knowledgeable enough.

3. **Photographic documentation**: Documenting the case study via moving and still images was an important method. It helped in re-checking the data obtained in the case studies through semi-structured interviewees and focus group discussions. The built form pointed out as important in the interviewees was photographed and mapped, its historical significance was researched and the way people engage with these particular buildings...
was observed. The photographic documentation also helped in analysing the built form at a later stage as the evidence was available in the form of images and in communicating the information about the case study areas to workshop participants and others. A sketchbook (Appendix 4) was maintained in which various observations related to the built form were sketched. This proved to be vital at the analysis stage because the sketches served as reminders and pointers of distinct elements of the built form.

4. **Morphological documentation:** A morphological analysis of the case study areas was undertaken. Specifically, the urban morphological evolution, the open built ratios, building heights, land uses and urban scale were recorded. These became the base maps on which the information collected through semi-structured interviews and focus groups could be overlaid. This information included the mental maps of the perception of the boundaries of the neighbourhood, and the important buildings pointed out by the local residents and other stakeholders. An analysis was also carried out of the use of public spaces by the residents and the special characteristics of public space (the chowk, the chabootra and the streets). The morphological documentation served well as a starting point but it was felt that the urban tissue method as a framework needs to be developed further to incorporate different morphologies peculiar to the context of Karachi. For instance, the chabootra, which is an extended platform in front of buildings and is used differently during various times of the day, is a public space, but is privately owned by the owner of the building or the shop. It is neither a plot, nor a street, or a building. It is difficult to put a space like the chabootra in any of the categories outlined in the urban tissue method.

The space syntax analysis was used to document and analyse the integration and connection of the two case study areas. The space syntax method helped triangulate the data as it revealed how the space is physically connected or disconnected, and the information from the interviews about intangible aspects of the built form could be overlaid with it.

5. **Archive Review:** A review of the archives in the form of maps and planning documents helped identify the scale at which the planners for the city think about urban interventions. It also highlighted the fact that the information related to the planning of the city is scattered and not well documented. The maps of individual buildings and some photographic documentation were available from the archives of local government libraries like the Karachi Municipal Cooperation (KMC) and City District Government Karachi (CDGK) libraries.
7.2.1. Potential limitations of the research method

Certain limitations in the research method, which might have affected the research results, are summarized here:

1. Biases and intrusion of values of the interviewees can affect the research data.
2. Lack of understanding of the interviewees of environmental, social and economic responsiveness of built form can influence upon their responses.
3. Group effects like dominance of certain individuals in focus groups can also influence upon the quality of the data.
4. Absence of women from focus group discussions can influence the generalization of findings.
5. Low participation in focus groups can also effect the generalization of results.

These limitations are mapped against each of the method used in Table 7.1.
<table>
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<tr>
<th>Type of Data</th>
<th>Method</th>
<th>Limitation</th>
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| Decisions about lived representational space | Semi structured interviews of government representatives | • Biases and intrusion of values of the interviewees.  
• Low participation in focus groups |
|                                      | Semi structured interviews of professional builders, planners, architects  
• Workshop with architects and planners |                                                                 |
|                                      | Semi structured interviews of local users of space  
• Focus group interviews of local users of space | • Biases and intrusion of values of the interviewees. |
| Decisions about conceived space       |                                             |                                                                             |
| Decisions about perceived space       | Semi structured interviews of local users of space  
• Focus group interviews of local users of space | • Lack of understanding of the interviewees of environmental, social and economic responsiveness of built.  
• Group effects like dominance of certain participants in focus group discussions  
• Absence of a gender from focus group discussions. |
| Morphological data                    | Morphological and typological maps  
• Archival review  
• Personal observation  
• Photographic and video recordings | • Inability to get accurately dated morphological maps. |

*Table 7.1: Limitations of the research methods used*
In order to minimize these potential limitations of the research methods, triangulation of the research data and conscious analysis on the part of researcher where biased responses were dealt with intelligently, was important.

### 7.3. Evaluation of the theoretical contribution of the case studies

This section evaluates the theoretical contribution of the case studies and ties it up to the literature review in Chapter Two. In doing so, it answers questions 1, 2 and 3 outlined in Section 7.1.

#### 7.3.1. Is the concept of *maqamiyat* useful?

Theories on place, place making, place identity and critical regionalism assume adherence to development controls and policies of urban design, which is not the case in Karachi for reasons ranging from traditional community setups, to corruption of government officials, to flexibility offered by informal systems. Thus, although the concepts of these theories seem to be relevant for Karachi, their implementation in design practice is faced with many scenarios, which calls into the urban design paradigm that these theories assume: for instance, theory does not take into account corruption and informal processes.

Noe (1981) points out that urban development in the Developing World is different from the West in a number of ways, therefore the Western models cannot and should not be followed without adjusting them to local contexts. Some of the differences he highlights are: the cities in the Developing World are ‘a cluster of distinct units, functionally and economically linked, but socially, stylistically and spatially segregated’ (Noe, 1981: 3), thus segregation of land use does not work for these cities in urban planning. Secondly, he points out that the involvement of professionally trained urban planners does not result in socially and economically responsive urban design, since these planners do not have an adequate analyses of the everyday lives of communities, as most of these planners belong to the elitist sections of the society and are trained in the west. The western training means that these professionals do not place value on different aspects of everyday life that have importance for local people.

Furthermore, the West is interested in ‘orderly guidance of urban growth’ often exacerbating rather than relieving the urban problems. The reasons behind this, as pointed out by Noe (1981), are many; firstly, the western economic model reinforces the formal sector of the economy at the expense of the informal sector. Secondly, western models are resource
intensive, whereas resources are scarce in the Developing World. Thirdly, western models are based on the assumption of availability of human labour, adequate infrastructure and energy, private resources, high-tech solutions, a certain aesthetic dimension and adherence to land use zoning. The practice of urban squatting is generally non-existent at the urban scale in the western world, thus design and solutions for this practice are not there.

Theories of place, place making, place identity and critical regionalism are all based on the assumptions highlighted in the last paragraph. Some lessons that many local settlements in Developing World cities offer, in the shape of the relationship between the process of development and urban change being related to the age of a settlement, the empowerment and mobilization of local communities to gain access of utilities like water and sewerage systems on a self-help basis, the physical pattern being supportive of economic and social needs of communities (e.g. the house being both a residence and a place to earn a livelihood), low ownership of and dependency on private means of transport and the preference for incremental development of housing; are not part of western planning models. Since urban theory, developed in the west, is not concerned with these ‘out of the ordinary’ scenarios, there is a need to develop theory and conceptual frameworks that can reflect and draw upon the urban design practices of the Developing World which are particular and unique to their context.

The documentation and analysis of the case studies showed that a number of informal processes are operational in Karachi. In the Old Town, informal operations take precedence over the formal organization of space. In the case of Kehkashan Clifton, private builders develop the area and take decisions about the built form, without any process of consultation and involvement of government representatives. Thus, in both cases the variables of maqamiat, take precedence over any formalistic framework. This is evident in the informal property ownership in Old Town (pagri system), which is a traditional system of ownership and continues to be operational today. In Clifton Kehkashan, the desire of the government officials to project a global image for the area has taken precedence over the existing context, and infrastructure and high-rise buildings are being constructed without consideration of the local situation. Non-adherence to the Karachi Building Town planning regulations and Karachi Strategic Plan 2020 is also evident in both the cases.

Thus, the built form theory needs to be developed in order to incorporate the peculiarities of a context like Karachi. The concept of maqamiat however is useful, as it is reflected through
the tangible and intangible aspects of a context and takes into account the economic, social and environmental realities.

7.3.2. In Karachi, what is maqamiat of built form?

The concept of intervening in the urban context at the scale of urban design is not the norm in Karachi. The byelaws and regulations do not have any policies for this kind of intervention, as they do not deal with the collectivity of the built form, and only look at the construction of individual buildings. Furthermore, as seen in the case study of the Old Town, the principles outlined in the KBTP 2004 relating to preservation and conservation of old buildings are flawed, as additions and alterations can be made to these buildings at will. Thus there is a need to develop byelaws, regulations and mechanisms for their implementation that can deal with intervention in the urban context at the scale of urban design and with the collectivity of the built form.

Certain urban morphologies and design qualities exist in the context of the two case study areas, which are unique and particular. These morphologies and design qualities need to be preserved in order to retain maqamiat. These are spaces like chabootras, chowks, the multipurpose usage of streets, the pedestrian scale of the Old Town, connectivity and open spaces around railway lines doubling up as communal spaces. The informality and weak byelaws also give urban spaces in Karachi their particularity. Although some byelaws and regulations need to be imposed, their enforcement needs to be carefully monitored, as too much enforcement can adversely affect the maqamiat of such locations.

‘Small chowks’, in the Indian context, are described as open spaces under trees which become ‘communal meeting, working and commercial spaces’, because of the shade they offer, whereas the main arteries are used for cooking in the evenings and grazing animals, as well as circulation(Payne, 2006: 161). Multiple uses of the same space and the flexibility to organize space according to social requirements enable communities to achieve high densities. This context does not have an inherent order, but works for the residents, which according to Payne (2006: 161), would be ‘understandably anarchic’ for professionals looking for order in an urban context. The description of this context is similar to what is seen in the case study of the Old Town, where the chowk is the open space within a dense locality, which has various uses depending on the time of the day, and the month of the year. For instance during prayer time it may become an extension of the activity of the mosque, in the
evenings it may become an extension of the activities of the religious buildings (shrines), and during annual religious festivals it may become a space accommodating pilgrims to the shrine. It may also be used by residents for socializing during different times of the day, and by children playing in the evening.

Certain morphologies in both the case study areas have continued to survive over time, for instance the Hindu *ghar* in the case of the Old Town and the bungalows in the case of Clifton Kehkashan. The design qualities and morphologies of these buildings offer uniqueness to the two localities, and constitute an authentic intrinsic part of the morphological setup.

The concepts developed by Abel (2000, 1994) about the relationship between scale and function of local built form and the global aspirations of society are helpful in explaining *maqamiat*. As Abel (1994) points out, built form within a city may adapt to global influences but may still house local functions, thus decoding the built form in terms of its physicality and socio-economic adaptations is important for fully explaining the local-global aspirations of a society. For instance, because of economic globalization, as Abel points out, multinational companies decentralize their functions into smaller and semi-autonomous units, which are localized and respond to local demands. Thus, it is important to decode the interdependence of globalization with localization in terms of morphological scales and meaning (cultural and personal affiliation) associated with it and the co relationship of the two.

In terms of the scale and function of buildings, Abel (2000) suggests that tradition cannot be interpreted and implemented in a modern form for all typologies of the built form. This is evident through the case study of Generalabad, Clifton, that identify traditional usage of urban space (e.g. *jirgah*), which can neither be translated into English as a custom nor find a place in localities defined on the basis of principles adopted from the west.

In the ‘Encyclopaedia of Vernacular Architecture of the World’ (1997: 93) Rapoport points that meaning can be communicated when cues are noticed from the built form. Cues communicate the status symbol built form has through ‘house types, size of spaces or decoration and by various combinations of these’. New features are introduced in the built form with modernization, such as modern materials. This was seen in both the case study areas of this research. New buildings being constructed in both contexts had new materials clad on facades, like tiles, aluminium windows and pre-cast concrete screens. The
introduction of new materials was driven by a desire for a particular aesthetic, the cost and the ready availability of these materials.

Rapoport’s (1997) analysis seems to be relevant to the concept of *maqamiat*. Rapoport (1997: 93) points out that in cultures where literacy is absent or restricted ‘built environments are usually the only or the most important permanent ongoing repositories of high level meanings (although landscape elements can play that role)’. In the case of Karachi, the meaning people associate with the built form is evidenced through the various inscriptions on the building facades in the Old Town, with the name of the buildings, dates and at times the patron. This is also seen in the old bungalows in Clifton, but is not the norm in modern day buildings, perhaps because, as again Rapoport points out, with newer developments built form stopped being associated with having ‘high level meanings’. Another reason could be the disassociation of the patron with the built form and the professional builder constructing buildings for selling or renting. As the buildings are no longer being constructed for personal use, the need for personalizing them is no longer important.

In newer settlements, parks are designed and an entry fee is charged, and restricted to families only, as seen in the case study of Kehkashan Clifton. This excludes the use of the urban spaces by a particular section of society, especially teenagers. The hot weather does not permit the usage of the parks between eight in the morning and six in the evening, and then exclusion of activities like riding bicycles, playing ball games and charging the entry to the parks further restricts the use of these spaces. On the other hand, the streets of older areas, like Kharadar and Meethadar, are bustling with life, and people from all age groups are seen socializing on the streets. Thus, there are lessons to be drawn from traditional built form about social aspects of *maqamiat*.

As Payne (2006) points out, it is important to perceive urban spaces as diverse areas, taking in account the different contexts, and avoiding the assumption that European and American concepts of space are universally relevant. Flexibility and adaptability of spaces, which are indicators of *maqamiat*, allows for the growth of urban contexts, both formally and informally, and are pointed out by Payne as peculiar inherent aspects of space usage in Developing World countries.
7.3.3. What are the tangible and intangible aspects of maqamiat in Karachi?

The social and ethnic connections and intangible processes, especially in the Old Town case study, seem to be contributing to the *maqamiat* of these neighbourhoods. The neighbourhoods have been able to retain their physical form and aesthetic values because of the homogenous community that dwells in such areas and the various social associations’ people have developed over time. The informal organizations, which help the upkeep, running and maintenance of these localities, also contribute towards maintaining and promoting the local flavour of the case study areas. Thus, the role of the intangibles and their contribution in constituting *maqamiat* cannot and should not be underestimated.

An important point raised by Payne (2006), and demonstrated in this research, is the destruction of traditional land management systems, which have existed for many generations, through the introduction of western concepts of property ownership. This has undermined the local social relationship. The *pagri* system, as mentioned in the Old Town case study, is one such property ownership system which has continued to survive, but is termed as an ‘informal’ system, which is not recognized by formal planning authorities. One of the merits of the ‘*pagri*’ system is the fact that it does not see property as a commodity, as land title remains in the name of the original owner and the tenant is allowed to use the premises on the payment of an amount (known as *pagri*) which is little less than the prevailing market price of the property. The tenant pays a nominal monthly rent to the property owner, and occupies the premises for years without any fear of eviction. The property remains in the property owner’s name and he continues to pay taxes on it.

The traditional systems of governance and land ownership, are pointed out by Payne (2006) as areas of further investigation, from which professionals can learn about how to maintain diversity in the world, instead of unthinkingly following the example of the west. Although Payne (2006) asserts that ‘globalization is tending towards conformity to a predominantly western world view’, resulting in universal applicability of spatial languages, other literature reviewed (Saskin, 2015) in this research identifies the localization of globalization in different forms. This means that cities may aspire to copy the west, but in reality what gets built is the result of local social norms, economics and available technology. The product may not be a direct replica of the models and forms of the west, and may not even be originating from analyses of the local value of the built form. Therefore, the need is to
understand the diversity and potential contribution of the local built form, in terms of society, technology, culture and economics, and its reflection in official planning policy, embracing a global outlook.

In the literature reviewed from the built form discipline, the meaning people associate with the built form and its cultural dimensions are not stressed enough. Although these theories are helpful in providing an analysis of the priorities given to different approaches to design, and in identifying different scales which users of the built form experience and relate to, the literature does not describe the meaning people associate with the built form in any depth, which the key findings of this research point towards. This aspect is discussed in greater length in Chapter Eight.

7.4. Describing and evaluating the workshop method

A workshop was held on the 24th of April 2015 at the Department of Architecture and Planning at NED University of Engineering and Technology, Karachi. The objective of the workshop was to present the research findings and conceptual framework before a group of architects, planners and academics from Karachi, and to take their feedback and points of view about the topic, conceptual framework and case study findings. A paper summarizing the concept was written up beforehand outlining the background of the research, the objectives, new contribution to knowledge and the research questions. The research questions for the workshop were outlined as:

1. Is maqamiat of built form important in Karachi, if so why?
2. What design values influence decisions taken in the construction of built form in the contemporary Karachi and how do these decisions address the concept of maqamiat?
3. What scale is optimal for analysing maqamiat in Karachi?
4. Are there any lessons that can be drawn from the local practice that can inform the decision making process to explain maqamiat of built form?

Twenty-five invitations along with an electronic copy of the concept paper were sent out via email to various architects, planners and academics. Some of these architects and planners had been interviewed as part of the research previously by the researcher. A total of ten
people participated in the workshop. There were two architects, two planners and six academics from the Department of Architecture and Planning, NED.

In the initial part of the workshop the researcher gave a 20 minute presentation, highlighting the main points from the literature review, presenting the conceptual framework and one case study. The presentation was followed by a discussion where the participants were asked to give their feedback on the design and process of the research, on the case study findings and on the questions outlined for the discussion.

A couple of note takers had been appointed beforehand. The researcher herself was the mediator for the discussion and whenever she felt that the debate was going off track, she would prompt a question, which would direct the argument towards the research objectives. Arrangements for recording and photographing were also made beforehand.

The inclusion of professionals (architects, planners and academia) from different professions provided the opportunity to view the practical, theoretical and research side of the thesis. Various inputs were received. The architects and planners engaged in the production of built form gave their input on the larger research question about maqamiat for the built form of the city and the scale at which it is reflected. The academic on the other side, gave their input on the conceptual framework, the link of the research with theory and the theoretical aspects that link up to the definition and analyses of maqamiat. This process helped in testing and re-evaluating the research data.

The entire discussion lasted for approximately 90 minutes. The transcription of the discussion following the presentation is attached in Appendix 2.

7.5. Evaluating the knowledge contribution of the workshop

The findings from the workshop helped answer the questions outlined in Section 7.1 as follows:

7.5.1. Is the concept of maqamiat of built form useful?

1. There was no debate in the workshop on the usage of the word ‘maqamiat’ (localness); it was a term which all the participants agreed on using, and seemed to understand as a concept and idea. It was commented by the participants that it was an ‘apt’ topic to look into and relevant to the practice of architecture in the current context as professionals
struggle with the concept on a daily basis. This is because Karachi as a city struggles with a sense of identity for its built form.

2. Constant comparisons were made with the city of Lahore within Pakistan. Lahore was looked at as a city, which has a sense of *maqamiat*. Two reasons were pointed out for this, one was the presence of an old school of architecture in the city (established in 1875), The National College of Arts (NCA), and the other was the practice of a Aga Khan Award recipient Architect Nayyar Ali Dada in the city. It was pointed out that the graduates of NCA practicing in the city understand the context well, as most of them have lived in Lahore, studied there, and have taken up a professional degree there as well. This point raised by the participants was interesting because earlier in the research when Architect Kamil Khan Mumtaz from Lahore was approached for an interview, he declined saying that for him ‘*maqamiat*’ of the built form was not an issue at hand, which should be discussed, and for him issues of housing and infrastructure provision were more important.

7.5.2. In Karachi, what is *maqamiat* of built form?

3. The participants stressed that it was the intangible assets of Karachi that gave it *maqamiat*. The buildings kept changing because of weak governance. The city that we see today will change completely in the next fifty years, but the social and ethnic setups will remain, thus people give *maqamiat* to the city and not so much the built form. This reinforced the research finding that people valued social *maqamiat* more than physical *maqamiat*.

4. It was pointed out that the unit of analysis needs to be established and the competing variables such as indigenous, vernacular and globalness were advised to be pinned theoretically. As a result of this comment and other feedback during the course of the research it was decided to use the term ‘*maqamiat*’ instead of localness as the main research concept, because it underpinned the idea within the context of Karachi.

7.5.3. What are the tangible and intangible aspects of *maqamiat* in Karachi?

5. Demography was pointed out as an important aspect that affects the built form, because increase in population demands more growth, and built heritage collapses under the weight of ‘vanity and development’. The aspect of demographics change impacting upon
place is discussed in the theories of place making, place identity and place affiliation but is not a part of discussions of critical regionalism. Thus theories of place, place identity, place making and place affiliation are more relevant to the concept of *maqamiat* than critical regionalism.

6. Participants pointed out that other forms of art need to be looked at for *maqamiat*, like music, paintings, fashion. The question raised was ‘can urban experience be exclusive to architectural products and street planning?’ It was also suggested to look at blogs and social media. Other art forms that may add to *maqamiat* of the city can be one of the future research directions. It is intended to hold another workshop in the future in which people from other professions, like artists, bloggers, journalists, would be invited and *maqamiat* of the city in terms of different art forms would be discussed.

7. It was highlighted that architects in the city are seen connecting to *maqamiat* through using certain design elements in the city, specific colours, textures and materials. One course of exploration that can be taken, as pointed out by one of the participants, can be the regional connection of these design elements. This aspect had been explored earlier in the research.

8. The link of *maqamiat* with social phenomena like migration and gentrification was also pointed out as relevant to the analyses of *maqamiat* in Karachi, because with changes in populations the value system changes, which directly impacts upon what gets constructed in the city.

### 7.5.4. Is a development framework required to deliver locally informed built form in Karachi?

9. It was pointed out that the creation of a bigger footprint is important for cities in terms of visions and master plans, which address concepts of *maqamiat*, and then the neighbourhoods can connect to this bigger master plan. Thus the macro scale of the city needs to be addressed by the planners and politicians drawing up the vision for the city. As a result of this comment, master plans for the city were reviewed and an analysis of these plans with respect to *maqamiat* was added in Chapter Four.

10. It was also pointed out that the chaos, disorder and non-adherence to byelaws and regulations give the city its uniqueness. The fact that the city follows its own course of development and has not been tamed is something that is a specific and particular character of the city. This aspect of *maqamiat* is not inherent in the built form theories.
reviewed, which have a western tilt, thus the need was felt to review anthropological theories.

7.6. Discourse Analysis of workshop and semi structured interviews

This section analyses the use of language by the respondents, to describe spaces, in the workshop and the semi-structured interviews.

1. The findings from the case studies add to the debate on the global-local aspects of the built form, as discussed in Chapter Two, and the aspiration of cities to change and ‘modernize’ and retain their identity. In the Old Town, residents named quite a few buildings, which they were interested in seeing, restored and preserved. There was a strong sense of attachment with the historical buildings of the area that were perceived as landmarks. There was also an understanding amongst the residents of the buildings that were listed on the heritage list and they took pride in the historical value of the locality. The residents were interested in improving the infrastructure conditions of the locality and retaining the historic character of the built form.

2. The social space, as pointed out by these residents, was always the street, a park or a junction (chowk) with a tea stall or the chabootra (platform) in front of the buildings. The affiliation of the people with the locality was linked to spaces that were used for social congregation, endorsing the place affiliation theory, which deals with the continuity of social and cultural attachment to a place of communities and individuals over years and focuses on the recollection of place by people.

3. Respondents of Block 5 Clifton, which is a high-income area, and the residents of Generalabad, which is a low-income area, when asked about which built form they would like to see improved in their locality, focused more on improving the infrastructure and road conditions. The majority of the residents were interested in seeing the water supply improved and the roads re-carpeted. The respondents of Generalabad however, also pointed out the importance of daily evening get together (baithak and jirgah- which do not have an English translation) with neighbours and sitting around the open space of railways lines for informal chit chats which points towards the stronger social networking in public space, in low income areas as compared to high income areas.

4. The aesthetics of the built form were not a major concern for the respondents in either of the case study areas. The respondents were more concerned about the general operation
and maintenance of the localities, the retention of the larger urban fabric and the social networks. Social *maqamiat* took precedence over physical *maqamiat*, especially in low-income areas and the Old Town.

5. Vernacular theory, describing the authenticity and adaptability of the built form, points out the origin and connection with the local context through the meaning people associate with it. In the interviews with professionals, *maqamiat* was linked to the social and ethnic understanding of the people. This understanding translates as *maqamiat* in Urdu because as mentioned previously the Urdu word for place (*jagha*) does not have a social component attached to it and is only seen as a geographical place, whereas the concept of *maqamiat* has an ethnic aspect attached. ‘Ethnicity and living styles are related. The relation comes in the planning not in the elevation and facades. Communities have their experience of living which needs to reflect in the built form’ (Interviewee 10, 2014).

6. Some theorists believe that if a city wants to retain its localness and modernize at the same time designers/architects need to develop a means to use the traditional built form features at both architectural and urban design scale and incorporate them into modern day cities (Watson and Bentley, 2007). This is supported by the interviews with professionals, as there is non-acceptability of constructing buildings that are clad in glass and steel, as they are not climatically responsive, yet when the works of these architects is surveyed in the city, they do design the type of buildings which they have expressed dislike for in the interviews. The question then arises, why these buildings are being constructed when the professional architects understand that they are not climatically the best solution, and are also not interested in designing them. The only possible reason is that the architect is unable to convince the client about the non-suitability of these buildings, as the client (builders, politicians, and private developers) has an image of ‘Dubai type’ built form and wants that replicated in Karachi.

7. Another aspect that came forth in the interviews with the professionals is the disadvantage of apartments in Karachi’s context. According to one of the interviewee, ‘High rise buildings, especially apartments, don’t suit our culture and environment. We need clothes lines to dry our laundry and in an apartment we don’t have space for it and all the laundry ends up on the front façade which is aesthetically poor’ yet we see apartment buildings springing up everywhere in the city. A research study undertaken by Hasan et.al, 2010 proves that the densities of apartment buildings can be achieved in small plots of 40 to 60 square yards, if they are allowed to develop incrementally. This
type of housing suits the lower and middle income better, and addresses their social and economic requirements and constraints.

8. In the discussion generated in the workshop, the need for defining the term *maqamiat* was not felt and all the participants interestingly understood it as a term that is apt for discussion in the built context of Karachi. Secondly, words like ‘chaotic’, ‘disorder’, ‘messy up’, ‘haphazard’ and phrases like ‘spurts of brilliance’ were used for describing the built form of the city. These words speak about the disorder taking precedence over the attributes of the built form. A general consensus in the workshop was that visitors to the city are not interested in the buildings, but are attracted towards other peculiarities of the city, like truck art (Appendix 11), local food, political billboards and other environmental factors which stand out as ‘different’. The streets are animated, they are not sterile, but the reason behind this animation is not always the built form. The aspects of fluidity and change are important in the city. These aspects are not part of critical regionalism, and the theories of place, place making and place identity, work within an urban paradigm and assumes a certain order and structure, which is not the case in Karachi.

The choice of words used to describe the built form of the city in the interviews and by workshop participants associated *maqamiat* more with the intangible aspects of the built form and the social processes within the city than with the tangible components of the built form. Although the built form theories reviewed in Chapter Two, helped outline the indicators of *maqamiat* as authenticity, adaptability, connection, patina, particularity and link with global processes, the focus was more on the tangible aspects of the built form, and the intangible aspects, like association with certain words used to describe public spaces which cannot be translated into English, were not addressed. The built form theories also have a western tilt which do not incorporate local processes of informality (in terms of chaos and disorder in the built form and the informal processes of obtaining land title) experienced in the urban context of Karachi.
7.7. Conclusion

In conclusion, the concept of *maqamiat* is useful, but it is of value more in terms of its social connotations than in its physicality. In the two case study areas, *maqamiat* was seen to have different meanings. In case study one, there was physical connection with the built form, because of the historical value of the area. In the contemporary development of Clifton, the association with the physical form of the city was weak, but the social connections were strong, especially in the low-income settlement.

In low income areas the way public open spaces are used is directly connected to the ethnicity of the community, for instance the residents in Generalabad continue to use the spaces in traditional ways connected to ‘back home’. Thus, the depiction of these traditional customs may be just a bench placed in the open space, but the value and affiliation attached to this ‘bench’ is of immense importance.

At face value, much of Karachi’s built form may not have any physical *maqamiat*, but in the settlements, the social value of *maqamiat* is reflected through physical expression, especially in open areas. The built form theories focus on the physical aspect of *maqamiat* of built form and the social connection is weak, especially when applied in the context of Karachi.

A development framework, which recognizes these physical expressions of an ethnically divided city and incorporates it in the Master plans, is required. This framework needs to address the *maqamiat* of the built form, not just in the neighbourhoods, but for the avant-garde development projects as well, because these projects as of now are disconnected from the social, ethnic and economic realities of the masses of the city. This development framework needs to start with documenting the different types of open spaces within the city, how they are used and affiliated with by the locals. The feedback needs to inform the decisions of the planners and government representatives responsible for putting together the framework. The research needs to start at the grass root level and build its way up towards proposing a master plan for the city, which is based on an analyses and reflection of *maqamiat*. The next Chapter discusses the key findings of this research in detail and reflects upon the theories initially reviewed in Chapter Two with respect to *maqamiat*. 
Chapter Eight

Key Findings

8.1. Introduction

In Chapter Seven, it was concluded that the built form theories, reviewed in Chapter Two, miss some dimensions with respect to maqamiat. This Chapter highlights these missing dimensions in terms of the key findings of the research and presents a revised theoretical framework towards the end which helps in holistic understanding of maqamiat in specific contexts, linking both the tangible and intangible aspects of a place.

According to the empirical findings of this research, the concept of maqamiat is of value more in terms of its social connotations than in its physicality. The meaning and value of maqamiat changes with respect to the physical context and the social and economic affiliations of people with the built form.

The open areas within the different neighbourhoods reviewed in Chapters Five and Six, were places with which residents and shop keepers had strong social and economic affiliations and a strong sense of maqamiat, as these places formed important parts of their everyday social lives. The flexibility offered by places which were least regulated through byelaws and regulations were valued by residents, as they had the freedom to adapt their buildings to their social and economic requirements. This concept of flexibility of spaces and sense of affiliation is also at the heart of literature on ‘embodied space’ by anthropologists (Davoudi and Madanipour, 2015; Hirt, 2012; Peterson, 2010; Sheppard and McMaster, 2003; Marston et al., 2005; Low and Lawrence, 2003) and ties up the social aspects of space with its physicality. This is further discussed in Section 8.2.1.

Another major finding of this research was that for maqamiat to make itself apparent at the neighbourhood scale, it needs to be thought of at the scale of the master plans and the larger city plans. As mentioned in Chapter Seven, the research needs to start at the grass root level and build its way up, incorporating the concept of maqamiat, and rethinking the whole idea of scale. This idea is supported by literature by geographers (Smith 1993; Marston 2000; Sheppard and McMaster 2003; Marston et al. 2005) who question the whole notion of scale at
which a city is visualised, not in terms of metrics but in terms of social aspects. This point is further discussed in Section 8.2.2.

The major findings from the research also point towards the fact that certain urban forms and types are untranslatable into a language that has no words for them (predominantly English), and, because of the influence of imported design language, these spaces are often lost in newer developments. These local spaces are not valued by professional architects and planners trained in western institutions and involved with new urban developments, as there is a significant disjunction between western architectural ideologies (even though they may talk about the importance of the vernacular in informing locally relevant design) and local forms, as they are produced and experienced. Thus, the question reviewed here, is, whether it is possible to develop a planning language that includes these spaces, which represent the local built form and maqamiat. This is further discussed in Section 8.2.3.

The open public space came forth as the place within each neighbourhood with which social maqamiat was associated. The interpreting of the public space to understand the local-global connections of the society and the requirement to analyse these spaces from various perspectives and scales, addressing the complexity of a city, was one of the research findings which is further discussed in Section 8.2.4.

The next section of this Chapter (Section 8.3) discusses the newer trends within Karachi, that result in a built form that is neither global nor completely local, but a hybrid form and is best labelled as ‘indigenous modernities’ (Hosagrahar, 2005) and what method can be employed for deploying these new typologies at different scales in the newer developments in the city. The last section of this Chapter (Section 8.4.) proposes a revised theoretical framework that is informed by theories from the built form, anthropological and geographical discipline and helps in understanding of maqamiat in specific contexts.
8.2. Key Findings: Maqamiat of built form

8.2.1. Intangible aspects of maqamiat of built form

As the concept of maqamiat is of more value in terms of its social connotations than in its physicality, thus a development framework which recognizes these physical expressions of social and economic values needs to be incorporated in Master plans and Building Regulations.

This framework needs to address the notions of maqamiat valued by locals in terms of flexibility, adaptability and social, economic and environmental construct of the built form.

The study of urban anthropology is also connected to the notion of maqamiat in a way, because the starting point is an analysis of communities. Literature by Peterson 2010; Sheppard and McMaster 2003; Marston et al. 2005; Low and Lawrence 2003, are examples. These anthropologists examine the social and environmental forces producing physical space and place, and the lived experience of communities and individuals and their constructions of meaning. Some anthropologist, when discussing the concepts of space and place, have a

‘flexible and mobile conception of space, one that speaks to how space is produced historically and physically and came to be in its current material form, but also how it is created by bodies in motion, embodied dreams and desires, and social interaction and environmental interrelations’ (Gieseking, et al., 2014:2).

The concept of flexibility, relates to maqamiat in the urban context of Karachi, because informal processes, in the form of attainment of land title, incremental development and usage of public spaces, are valued by locals as these processes fulfil the social and economic requirements.

Space and place are considered as ‘embodied’ by anthropologists, thus being ‘metamorphic’, ‘discursive’ and as well as ‘physically located’. The introduction of ‘embodiment’ as one of the qualities of space and place into the socio-spatial analysis allows for its exploration at both the global and local scales as this conceptualization ‘incorporates metaphors, ideology, and language, as well as behaviours, habits, skills, and spatial orientations derived from global discourses and faraway places, and yet is grounded at any one moment in a specific field context’. Embodied space is defined as a ‘model for analysing the creation of place
through spatial orientation, movement, and language’ (Low and Lawrence, 2003: 9). It is the ‘location where human experience and consciousness takes on material and spatial form’ (Low and Lawrence, 2003: 9).

Low (2009: 22) states that ‘anthropological theory of space and place needs to be process-oriented, person-based, and allow for agency and new possibilities’. The acknowledgement that space and place are always embodied, according to Low (2009), allows for the exploration of the social construction of spaces and the production of places at diverse global and local scales. She further goes on to elaborate that the actual transformation of space can be identified by analysing the social construct, ‘through peoples’ social exchanges, memories, images, and daily use of the material setting — into scenes and actions that convey symbolic meaning’ (Low, 2009: 24). The production and construction of local space can help illuminate the larger economic and ideological issues.

The concept of embodiment addresses various scales and ties up the physicality of a space to intangible aspects like social behaviour. This is, in a way, the research method used for this thesis, and is something that helps identify *maqamiat*.

### 8.2.2. Different scales of design intervention and ‘maqamiat’

Another major research finding of this research is the fact that ‘maqamiat’ manifests itself at various scales. It needs to be a valued in the larger master plans in order to be reflected at the neighbourhood level. In a similar way geographers have been concerned with various scales over the years, ranging from the neighbourhood, to the city to the region e.g., Smith 1993; Marston 2000; Sheppard and McMaster 2003; Marston et al. 2005. At times, they also deal with the intimate scale of the body, the home and the street. The relationship between these scales and the social practices associated with them has been the focus of their study. The underlying concept in these studies has been that while the influences of the environment are more prominent on people at small scales, there is a symbiotic relationship between the small and the large scale (for instance the scale of the street and the region), thus neither one can be understood in isolation. This is one of the aspects discussed in this research where the scale at which *maqamiat* is thought of is important for its manifestation. If an analysis of *maqamiat* is not inherent in the master plan documents or building and town planning regulations for the city then it will not be reflected physically at the scale of the street, although it may be experienced in the intangible aspects.
Sheppard and McMaster (2004) argue that the importance of ‘scale’ based on Euclidean coordinate systems has decreased in human geography space and scale are now seen as socially constructed. Thus, a precise definition of scale is not possible.

Sheppard and McMaster (2003) also point out that geographers visualize distance and scale not in terms of metrics but in terms of social gaps between constituents. They point out the elasticity of scale and argue that the way scale is perceived impacts upon the view of the world, thus the outlook should keep changing and must be dynamic. This is an interesting unit of analysis and links up to the social aspects of *maqamiat*, where mapping social gaps between different constituents of a society and their relationship with the built form can help map *maqamiat*.

This research also points towards the strong relationship between involvement of ethnically bound local communities, sense of *maqamiat* and retention of diversity of a place. This is proven by the case study analysis where ethnically bound communities of Old Town are actively engaged in the operation and maintenance of the locality on a self-help basis. The local public spaces of the Old Town, like *chowk* and *chabootra*, offer diversity, as they have not been impacted by globalization and homogenization of spaces. The book (Davoudi and Madanipour, 2015) also points out that locally initiated visions might be more sustainable, and local spaces may foster diversity and smaller scale communities may be more responsive (Cowell, 2015:111).

Davoudi and Madanipour (2015) attempt at defining ‘local’ and debate the role of localized design interventions at different urban scales, which is relevant to this research. Local is defined as ‘relating to or concerned to a particular place’ (Davoudi and Madanipour, 2015:11). These authors highlights that the ‘local’ has been given importance in some cultures, as long as recorded history of mankind can be traced and the concept has helped in bringing communities together. From the perspective of space, ‘localism often refers to small geographical scales down to neighbourhoods’. It may also been seen not as a fixed unit but as a ‘fluid, relational space that is socially (re)produced’ in order to avoid the ‘scale trap’, that is being fixated on a certain urban scale (Davoudi and Madanipour, 2015:2).

Whilst localism, is mostly used in connection with decentralized governance, it also ventures into the field of planning. ‘Sustainable urbanism’ is a phrase used (Hoolachan and Tewdwr-
Jones, 2015: 119) to describe a sense of place and its connection with planning under the larger umbrella of ‘localism’ which point towards involvement of local people, businesses and institutions in the planning process. The ‘romantic’, pre-industrial vision of place is challenged by these authors, and the concept of sustainable urbanism is reviewed at different scales, along with the empowerment of local communities. Local places have been termed ‘agents in globalization’ and not simply ‘victim of the global’, rather ‘moments through which the global is constituted, invented, coordinated, produced’ (Hoolachan and Tewdwr-Jones, 2015: 121). The way local is perceived and scaled at the national level, not just physically but conceptually as well, in terms of ‘whom and who is not included in that place by those who have the power to name it as such’ (Hoolachan and Tewdwr-Jones, 2015: 122), is important.

The strong relationship between scale of built form intervention and \textit{maqamiat} within a city is reinforced through the way decisions are taken regarding the built form, the analysis of global and local phenomena, and the usage of urban spaces by local communities.

\textbf{8.2.3. Language, place identity and \textit{maqamiat'}}

Certain words used in a local context are not translatable. The word \textit{maqamiat} in itself is an example, and when translated into English as ‘place’ it does not have the same breadth and may not correspond in its connotation with another language in all respects. Thus the structure of the language is important to decode as ‘a culture’s perception of the world is influenced by the structure of the language it speaks’ (Oliver, 1997: 90). Oliver (1997: 91) points out that ‘no detailed study of vernacular architecture and settlement can be complete without paying adequate attention to the conceptual terminology used by the local population’. Thus, research on language and specific words used for describing urban spaces explain ‘concepts, values and meanings of building within diverse cultures’ (p. 91). Words like \textit{jirgah, baithak, chowk and chabootra}, which describe specific types of urban spaces and are used in the indigenous language within the case study areas, are examples. These words may loosely be translatable in English, but their translation does not cover the entire breadth of their meaning and all the concepts embodied within their Urdu usage.

Similarly, of the four methods outlined by Rapoport (1997) for studying the meaning of built form, one approach is based on linguistics and adopts semiotic models. This method is based
on the identification of specific words used by locals when describing use of built form and the meanings associated with it.

Low (2009: 30-31) argues that language is a representation of experiences at different scales. Citing the example of a gated community in United States, she points out that embodied space occupied by residents and employees of this community on a daily basis while passing through security-controlled gates is impacted by the terror talks being discussed in the media or during daily conversations.

Baloy (2011) also explores the relationship between land, language and place identity. According to her, the loss of indigenous languages signifies the loss of a culture. It also signifies the implementation of government policies that are governed by a kind of colonization. On the other hand, she argues, the revitalization of indigenous languages, in an urban context in the form of local signs, ‘represents opportunities for reclamation of Native identity and pride, decolonization, and assertion of sovereignty’ (Baloy, 2011:518). Acknowledging indigenous language is a way of ‘addressing linguistic and cultural diversity in the city’ (Baloy, 2011: 538) and shows a connection with the local place and people.

She goes on to explain that ‘hearing or seeing native words can serve as a reminder of the host peoples, protocols, and language revitalization efforts’ (Baloy, 2011: 525-526). Through this process the local customs are acknowledged along with the experiences people have with ‘each other and with Native languages’.

The importance given to indigenous language does not always have to be in a physical form (street names written in indigenous language); it can take ideological roles too. The acknowledgement of a certain local word used to describe an urban space and the inability to translate it into any other language (e.g. English, which is the defacto official language of planners and architects in Pakistan) is a recognition of certain types of urban places in a context, which are lost in newer developments. The loss of a space designed for holding a jirgah, and a baithak, or the replacement of a chowk with parks, the absence of a chabootra in newer developments are examples seen in the two case study areas analysed in Chapters Five and Six.
Thus, local urban spaces and practices, which cannot be linguistically translated into English, represent spaces, which are not always valued by professionals, designing newer areas in a city. These professionals are mostly trained in western planning and design schools and have little analysis of the local urban spaces and the value communities give to them.

Professionals use different terminologies which represent modern spaces, which are the result of the globalization phenomena. Steger and McNevin (2010: 321) point out the many new metaphors and similes used to define the changing urban space as a result of globalization: ‘networks’, ‘nodes’, ‘cells’. Metaphors are not only meant to capture in ‘words and sentiments what already exists in space’ (Steger and McNevin, 2010: 324), but also drive the development of cities in a particular direction. For instance, in the case of Karachi, politicians talk about ‘making it like Dubai’, which results in the design and development of tall buildings clad in glass and steel responding to certain aesthetics preferences of politicians. Thus, the study of figure of speech, within the language used in planning and policy documents to describe the vision for the city might lead to an explanation of the type of built form being produced in the city as ‘language transforms space just as space transforms language’ (Steger and McNevin, 2010: 325).

8.2.4. Inter disciplinary perspective and ‘maqamiat’

As maqamiat is a complex concept, making itself apparent at various scales and being deeply connected to tangible and intangible aspects of a place and to the decision making processes, thus the role of various actors becomes important to understand. The interpretation of space to decode the local-global connections of the society with the built form and the requirement to analyse these spaces from various perspectives and scales, addressing the complexity of a city, is important to maqamiat.

Steger and McNevin (2010: 320) also point out the importance of political thought in shaping various ‘scapes’ and highlight public space as a necessary condition for diversity. Public space, according to them, is a contested space, which reflects the ‘claims of transnational political elite’ (Steger and McNevin, 2010: 321). Thus, decoding of the public space is important in any context to understand the local-global connections of a society.

However, how can a public space be decoded? Simple ‘dichotomies between local and global’ have been seen as ‘misleading’ and as serving specific political interests and the
requirement for ‘trans disciplinary perspective’ addressing the complexity of the city is highlighted as a need for the global city (Steger and McNevin, 2010: 323). There is lack of conceptual clarity around contemporary socio-spatial relations, for explaining the ‘conventional geographical scales’, which have collapsed and new conceptual vocabulary, and geographical scales are needed to explain and analyze the new temporal patterns of the global city, dependent as it is on the local, since the ‘global always manifests as the local’ (Steger and McNevin, 2010: 322-323).

In order to understand maqamiat there is a requirement to comprehend space from different professional perspectives. For example, Adhya (2012: 222) criticizes the focus of architects and planners involved in place making on ‘political processes, social ideologies, and formal typologies’ as a result of which they lose ‘sight of people’s everyday actions and experiences’. The emphasis placed by Adhya (2012) is on analysing the experiences of the people, which offers an ‘informal counterpoint to hegemonic planning practices’.

Similarly, in a book reviewing the work and contribution of Jacobs (1961) to the field of urban design, Jacob’s work, which emphasizes on the unit of design being people, instead of ‘ratios, populations, jobs, land uses, housing’ has been pointed out as the right approach to urban design (Hirt, 2012: 47). This is in agreement with the geographical theorists (Smith 1993; Marston 2000; Sheppard and McMaster 2003; Marston et al. 2005) describing the social connections between people as the scale for mapping a context, and supports the key findings of this research, about analysing space at various scales and undertaking a cross disciplinary approach in decoding space to understand maqamiat.

Payne (2006: 162) also points out these ‘multi-sectoral, culturally diverse teams working together and willing to listen to the people they sought to help’ as the preferred method of urban design intervention, as it yields a better physical, social and economic analysis of the urban environment and appropriate design solutions. This approach to urban design can contribute to maqamiat, as it will be a point of departure from the conventional practice and is likely to include an analysis by different professionals of the urban context, not just in terms of physicality but also in terms of social and economic reality. As it has been established through the case study research that maqamiat is expressed through not only the physical value of the built form, but also through social and economic value, engaging professionals in the practice of urban design, who understand urban contexts from a non-physical viewpoint, is vital.
There is also growing recognition in the field of urban design that there is a need to understand cities as expressions of culture, and for developing this comprehension a greater link between research and practice is required. It is only through the analysis and understanding of how urban forms have emerged that professionals can better engage with the development of cities and address the local and global challenges that the cities of today face (Larkham and Conzen, 2014).

The work of many urban anthropologists, which stems from being focused within a community and developing an analysis of various aspects ranging from social, to physical, to economic, to ecological, in a way covers this need for an inter disciplinary analysis of community and its relationship to *maqamiat*. Sepea and Pittb (2014) describe the role of place as a representation of the local flavour emphasizing the unique characteristics of a space. They also (2014:225) emphasize the need for understating ‘who lives where, what they do, what they know, how they get on, how they relate to each other, what they care about and feel’, at different scales, in order to capture the identity of a community and ‘establish a deep engagement with place and local life in order to affect its natural evolution’.

Similarly, Holtzman, another anthropologist, (2004: 62-63) also, points out that the local is seen through a ‘western-centred lens for examining those aspects of our ethnographic settings that are in many ways the most directly oriented toward capitalism and the state’. He further goes on to describe the lack of effort invested in evaluating the usefulness of the local as an ‘analytical construct’. Plainly labelling the local as the opposite of the global is an over simplification of a complex reality, and it prefigures ‘what it means to “be local” and what processes we seek to examine and situate locally.’ He further goes on to state that global models are incorporated in the local contexts, but these spatial models are contextual rather than universal.

Thus, simply branding places and built form as local or global is not sufficient, as places are neither completely global nor local, but keep changing because of imagery, social, economic and technological influences and realities. As a result the built form created is neither completely local, nor global but hybrid which is influenced by the local society and economics. Therefore understanding the emergence of this type of form becomes important and aspects of emerging hybrid built form in Karachi are explored further in the next section.
8.3. ‘Indigenous Modernities’

In a city like Karachi, it is next to impossible to pin point built form which is purely local or global. Karachi is the economic capital of the country, so government representatives are interested in portraying a certain image of the city. This is the lived representational space and is documented in Appendix 1. Capitalism, clients, economy, materials, technology and the climate determine the shape of the built form. As established through interviews with professionals, a few government officials, developers and businessmen make decisions about the lived representational space of the city (Appendix 7). These global impacts are limited to certain parts of the city and address a partial or marginal population, especially the form of shopping malls, which have an exclusive clientele. Their user demographic is not well defined. The typical Pakistani family consists of four to five members on an average, and the high-end malls are too expensive for such families. Even the visual scale does not connect to the street scale, it is quite monumental. The findings from the research point towards accepting the pluralism of the built form and addressing the city’s aspiration to change and modernize, yet retain traditional buildings and urban spaces.

A number of factors have an impact upon the built form in the city today. To simply label these factors as ‘global’ influences is naïve, because as seen in this research, global influences are firstly limited to a certain part of most cities, and secondly they get sifted through the local economics, social requirements and technology to eventually result in a ‘hybrid’ built form. This hybrid built form has been called ‘indigenous modernities’ (Hosagrahar, 2005) and represents a localized version of the global influences on the built form.

Karachi has experienced many changes in its population over time. Historically, whenever a new group of people settled in the city, the elite constructed landmarks and enclosed themselves within walls, or have segregated themselves from the rest of the city. For instance, when the Hindus came to Karachi they made their houses on the citadel, enclosed them within walls, close to the port. The working class lived outside the walled area, in Lyari to be specific. Within the walled city only a particular type and class of people were allowed to live. Similarly, when the British came to the sub-continent they demarcated for themselves a protected area within each capital city, and called it the ‘cantonment’. They constructed many landmarks in the shape of churches, parks, bandstands, piers and clock towers. The
bungalow, as a built form typology, is also an example of hybridization and is discussed in detail in Chapter Six.

The new mall typology is one predominant landmark of the elite of today and the presence of gated communities has continued. There are many enclaves within the city which are inhabited by the elite and run by private developers with the state having no regulating role. This raises the issue of regularization versus regulation, as the implementation of byelaws is weak, corruption is prevalent and the law and order situation is poor. Thus planning is not enough. Planning paradigms, which are space centric, will not work. Planning paradigms which address social, economic and security requirements need to be developed and implemented.

Sassen (2012: 85) also highlights the idea that ‘localized forms’ within global cities is ‘what globalization is about’. She further explains that many of the economic aspects of a city are not mobile and are embedded in place. Thus, to ‘recover place and production in analyses of the global economy’ is important to help explain the ‘multiplicity of economies and work cultures in which the global information economy is embedded’. Multiple localizations are seen within a global city, many of these ‘localizations are embedded in the demographic transition evident in such cities’ (Sassen, 2012: 92). ‘Informalization’ is pointed out as one such localization, both in terms of space and economics within a global city, which offers ‘goods and services at a lower cost and with great flexibility’ (Sassen, 2012: 93).

In a multi ethnic city like Karachi, ethnicity is important. Social impacts are strong, like the requirement for incremental housing. Housing structure for conservative societies is different from non-conservative societies. A new trend in Karachi is for ethnicities wanting to live together, enclosed in gated communities, because of the worsening law and order situation. These are needs of today, and they are reflected in the built form and urban morphology of the city, and are localizations within the global city.

The built form that is responding to the global and local trends in Karachi is termed ‘new modernism’ by the professionals, as is evident by the following quote (Appendix 7):

‘This is the regional version of the new modernism. For me there is a very universalizing character in the regional vocabulary. For me that seems to be very odd. For instance, most of the better architecture has a modern movement vocabulary, which is trickling down but not in a pure sense of modernism and it is a very locally defined vocabulary. Fair faced, tones,
c.c. tiles and wood. Therefore, it is not completely modern but it does have a modern look in terms of simple lines but certainly not in terms of the function. Therefore, I would say it is a local new modernism. I agree with it but I feel it’s not playful, diverse and experimental enough.’

Another emergent typology, which the professionals think responds well to the local and global influences within Karachi is the mixed-use building on a 200 square yards plot. The structure is ground plus four, with each floor housing two units for middle class families (household of four to five members). The ground floor has shops and upper levels have apartments. The aesthetics trickle down through visuals from the forms for the elite. According to the interviewees (Appendix 7) “this represents Karachi well”, both socially and economically, as these apartments have three bedrooms, which suits a family of four to five members, and they are priced reasonably as compared to detached houses.

These emerging typologies which represent the Karachi of today, and incorporate social and economic realities must be acknowledged by planners as they represent the local of today. These typologies must also be a part of the larger vision for the city and the master plans.

8.4. A revised theoretical framework

A revised theoretical framework, which focuses on the intangible aspects of the built form and incorporates different scales in order to understand maqamiat is presented in Figure 8.1.
Figure 8.1: The revised theoretical framework
8.5. Conclusion

This conclusion links back to the aims and objectives developed for this research in Section 1.3. of Chapter One. One objective outlined was to put forward theoretical and urban design recommendations that can be adopted to make built form locally responsive in the context of Karachi. This Chapter describes the requirement of cross disciplinary approach reflecting upon the society as the best approach to understand maqamiat. One of the reasons behind this is the very nature of maqamiat, which may not always be physical manifestation. Thus, in order to contribute to maqamiat urban design practice needs to be informed by the way local communities use and interpret space socially.

Another aspect discussed in this Chapter is the development of an analysis of the urban space at different scales. As maqamiat is reflected at various urban scales, thus an analysis of urban form at different scales is important. The theories of place, place making, place affiliation, critical regionalism and vernacular built form, deal with specific scales (discussed in Chapter Two, Section 2.4.4 and Table 2.4) which may not lead to a fuller analysis of the social and economic processes impacting on the built form. Thus, the need is to develop newer conceptual vocabulary addressing different geographical scales and incorporating cross disciplinary research approach.

It was also pointed in Chapters Seven and Eight that the practice of urban design and the resultant built form in the West is based on a number of pre-requisites, like the presence of physical, administrative and technological infrastructure, which cities of the developing world may not always have. The theories of place, place making, place affiliation and critical regionalism are based on the assumption that these various types of infrastructures are in place and are operational within a given context. This is not the case in the city of a developing world. Weak byelaws, corruption and different types of social and economic affiliations with the built form are a reality in the developing world cities. Thus, implementing urban morphologies and urban design from the West into the developing world is naive and unacceptable. Similarly, there is a deep relationship between the local and global, with both of them being interconnected, and it is naive to simply term places responding to global pressures having ‘placelessness’. The newer typologies of built form, that are neither global nor completely local, but a hybrid form and are trends within a global
city, need to be recognized, understood and addressed in order to answer global aspirations and local connection of different stakeholders within the city, rather than designing built form that is disconnected from the local context.

Another theoretical contribution of this research is the acknowledgement that there is a deep relationship between the language used to describe, perceive and conceive urban spaces by professionals and the eventual physical design of these spaces. If planning and built form regulation documents do not use a language which incorporate an analysis of *maqamiat* and what spaces are valued by local communities, the reflection is there in newer developments within the city, not just tangibly but also intangibly. Metaphors and similes used in language are also important, so instead of using visions like ‘making Karachi into a Dubai’, locally informed visions should be incorporated. Furthermore, lack of analysis of local places and processes is reflected by omitting the usage of local terminology associated with certain types of spaces. The names of these spaces may not be transferable in the official language, which is English, thus the disappearance of these spaces is witnessed from newer neighbourhoods. The *chowk, chabootra, chowrang and jirgah*, are some of the examples.

The next and final Chapter is the concluding Chapter of this research. It reviews the research process and identifies its value in terms of theoretical contribution and directions for future research. It also analysis whether the hypothesis stated earlier on has been altered by the research.
Chapter Nine

Conclusions

9.1. Introduction

The purpose of this Chapter is to review the research process and identify its value, theoretical contribution and directions for future research. The main objective behind this research was to develop a conceptual framework for understanding maqamiat (localness) of built form, in order to answer the main research question: *How can local and global impacts on the built form be mediated to enhance maqamiat (localness) in the contemporary built form within Karachi?* The objective of this Chapter is also to evaluate if the fundamental hypothesis, that is, *are places having localness more connected to the users’ experience of the morphological context*, tested by the research.

This concluding Chapter is organized in five sections. First, it ties up the empirical findings of the research to the theoretical review and in doing so answers the research questions, which are linked to the research objectives. Second, this Chapter discusses the theoretical, methodological and empirical contributions to knowledge derived from the investigation process. Third, the research methodology is analysed by reviewing the research strategy, conceptual and evaluative frameworks, the methods for data collection and analysis, and the strategies used for answering the research questions. Fourth, this Chapter reviews the transferability of the research findings and recommends future directions for research. Lastly, a concluding statement for the research is added.

9.2. Empirical Findings and Theoretical Review

This section answers the research questions set out in Chapter One to achieve the objectives of this investigation. The empirical findings related to the following research questions, outlined in Chapter One, have been consolidated here:
9.2.1. What is *Maqamiat* (localness) of built form in Karachi?

*Maqamiat* of built form has to do with five main aspects:

- Firstly, *maqamiat* needs to be connected to the way decisions are taken about the built form. It is important to understand who takes the decisions and what values have an impact upon these decisions.
- Secondly, *maqamiat* has certain pre requisites defined within the environment. If *maqamiat* is considered while outlining the planning documents, like the master plans and buildings regulations, it will be manifested in the physical form.
- Thirdly, local tangibles like local material, climate, technology, affect upon *maqamiat*.
- Fourthly, the link with intangible variables like social and economic processes and time have an effect on *maqamiat*. Migrations and gentrification are some of the social processes, which need to be considered as with changes in population, user groups change and so does their value systems.
- Lastly, the contrasting variables to *maqamiat* that is globalness and the vernacular impact upon the built.

The theories reviewed in Chapter Two deal with the connection of people with the built form at various scales, but do not dwell on the meaning people associate with built form. They stop at acknowledging that the intangible aspects and the social relationship of the people with the built form, but how this connection can be achieved is not detailed.

The research has demonstrated that in Karachi, built form comes into existence through various formal and informal processes, and various design values influence decisions taken with regards to the construction of the built form. The formally designed lived representational space in Karachi, has been shaped by various decisions taken by government representatives. Many institutional, economic and political events have also influenced these decisions over the years. Politicians are decision makers for this space and these spaces reflect a global image of the city. The local connection comes in terms of the technology and the social adaptation of the spaces by the users. The values ascribed to these spaces, the formalistic expression and architectural design, are the main drivers and address a global audience.
The conceived space within the city, which is envisioned by planners, developers, architects, builders and other design professionals, is mainly influenced by economic and social requirements of middle-income groups. Decisions regarding visual qualities of this space trickle down from aesthetic decisions taken by the elite of the society in other parts of the city. Security requirements are a big aspect of this space, which influence the decisions about the built form and may result in spaces like enclosed housing settlements barricaded by boundary walls.

Certain urban morphologies and design qualities also exist in the context of the two case study areas, which are unique and particular. These spaces have names in Urdu that cannot be translated in English. These spaces have specific place identity attached to them which must be acknowledged by professionals involved in the design and development of these areas and those involved in the design of new neighbourhoods within the city. The spaces with which people associate social meaning must be acknowledged and valued by professionals.

In the perceived space, where the design decisions are dictated by the everyday users of the built form, and mostly fall beyond the regulated areas of the city, the product is secondary. The finished product, such as a building, takes a back seat as compared to the process of obtaining a land title and other infrastructure facilities for low-income households.

Through the case study research, it was concluded that in places where social relationships are strong, the socio economic setups are valued more than the physicality of the built form. This was the case in Old Town, which has strong social ties because many generations of the same community have continued to live here. Although the physical aspects of the area, in terms of infrastructure and maintenance of buildings and public spaces, is deteriorating but the residents want to continue living in this congested and over populated locality because of their ethnic and social ties. There is an understanding amongst the residents about the historical value of the buildings, and they take pride in this. The social space, as pointed out by these residents, is always the street, a park or a junction (chowk) of a road with a tea stall or the chabootra (platform) in front of the buildings.

According to the literature review theories on place, place making, place identity and critical regionalism assume a certain urban design paradigm to be in place in a context. This framework does not exist in Karachi and neither does any adherence to development controls, which these theories also assume. Thus although the concepts of these theories seem to be
relevant for Karachi, their implementation in design practice remains a question because of many informal scenarios present in the context of Karachi are not addressed by these theories. For instance, the research has shown that an aspect of Karachi with which maqamiat is affiliated is the chaos, disorder and confusion prevalent in the city, because of ad hoc developments, over population, lack of implementation of regulations related to the built form and lack of maintenance of the urban fabric. This aspect of maqamiat of built form came forth in the discussion of the research findings with a panel of architects, planners and academia. This can be seen as a variable of the built form that has become an inherent characteristic defining the maqamiat of the city.

At face value, Karachi may lack physical maqamiat, but a careful look into its neighbourhoods yields results showing the social affiliation of people with place. The built form that is constructed on the main arteries of the city, and which involves professional architects, is mostly devoid of this social affiliation and is purely a reflection of a global image that the government wants to portray to the world. Maqamiat is mostly the result of ethnic homogeneity of communities and is more prevalent in low-income areas, which are located on secondary and tertiary accesses and do not represent the face of the city.

9.2.2. Maqamiat, urban morphologies and design qualities in Karachi

The indicators outlined for maqamiat through the literature review of theories of global cities, place, place identity, place affiliation, vernacular, critical vernacular and critical regionalism are authenticity, adaptability, patina, particularity, connectivity and connection with the global.

According to the interviews of professional architects, urban planners, designers, builders and local government representatives, the place where the city of Karachi originated three hundred years ago is considered to have authentic characteristics with its unique urban morphology of meandering narrow streets and built form constructed in stone masonry during the Colonial times by the Hindu merchants residing in the locality. This area is part of case study one, the Old Town. Many of these stone buildings still survive, although they are under threat of being dismantled and replaced by taller concrete buildings. Although authenticity is associated with this part of the city, it is also acknowledged that Karachi of today is not a pedestrian friendly city, thus there is not much of a lesson that this original development of the city offers in terms of what is maqamiat of built form in the city today. It is however
pointed out by the professionals that the climatic solutions offered by the built form in the old city still have relevance for the city, and can be learnt from in terms of sustainable solutions for ventilating the buildings. These climatic solutions include high ceilings, thick walls, use of ventilators, wooden screens, indented windows to cut the glare, and narrow width of streets to keep the sun out. The division and orientation of plots and streets, and the open-built ratios are also considered authentic by the professionals interviewed, as they respond positively to the social and economic requirements of the users.

The literature on the importance of the built form in creating authenticity puts stress on the role of meaning and its multiplicity associated with the built form at the local level, ‘being concerned with the identity of persons and groups, the authorship of products, producers and cultural practices’ (Theodossopoulos, 2013: 339). The experience of authenticity has been tied to the experience of place (Ouf, 2001). Retention of urban vernacular to prevent creation of non-places is one aspect that gives a place authenticity (Knox, 2011; Unwin, 2009; Watson and Bentley, 2007; Lynch, 1972, 1960; Alexander, 1968 and Jacobs, 1961), but how exactly is this sense of place created is unclear, as there is lack of empirical proof. The connection of retention of built form with authenticity is substantiated by the case study of the Old Town.

Over the years, because of weak regulations in the old city of Karachi, the built form has been adapted for various purposes, which does not necessarily adhere to the original land use allocation but addresses the needs of the users. This weakness of byelaws is one of the reasons for the survival of the old city, because the flexibility offered allows the built form to be used according to the requirement of the users. The concepts developed by Abel (2000, 1994) about the relationship between scale and function of local built form and the global aspirations of society are helpful in explaining maqamiat here. As Abel (1994) points out, built form within a city may adapt to global influences but may still house local functions, thus decoding the built form in terms of its physicality and socio-economic adaptations is important for fully explaining the local-global aspirations of a society.

Maqamiat of built form was also associated with the analysis of social setups and ethnicity of the users. This relationship, according to the professionals interviewed, was reflected in the planning of the old city. The communities residing in the Old Town cherish the social bonds developed over the years and despite the physical degradation of the built form and the general environment, they are not willing to shift to other localities, as was seen through qualitative interviews in the area. The social cohesiveness, in terms of ethnicity, is another
aspect they appreciate about the locality, as not only does it provide valuable memories for them, it also provides them with a source of communal bonding through which self-initiated projects are launched for education, infrastructure and general welfare of the community.

It can also be concluded from the interviews of the professionals that the identity of the built form is linked to the aspects of aesthetics and questions of ownership towards the city, the country and the larger global village. The fact that in Karachi many of the residents are transient impacts upon ownership of built form and aspects of *maqamiat*. When people do not own the built form, they are not interested in investing in its maintenance and upkeep, thus the built form falls prey to neglect and a part of history is lost.

‘Pluralism’ of the built form, ranging from high rise buildings reflecting a progressive image of the city, to low rise commercial mixed use buildings, to residential development in the low income settlements, to various parks, areas of recreation and water front promenades, came up as a defining character of the built form of Karachi. It was unanimously agreed by the professionals that this ‘pluralism’ of built form in Karachi is something that gives it particularity and must be valued and retained.

With the evolution of the built form and the design profession in Karachi, the emergence of a new building typology was also mentioned by the professionals interviewed. This building typology which is hybrid expression of the global influences adapting to local economic, technical and social realities, can be labelled as local. The 200 square yard plot developed as a mixed-use walk up development of four to five stories, with commercial spaces on the ground level and apartments on upper levels was cited as an example. This hybridization of the built form has been called ‘indigenous modernities’ in the literature reviewed (Hosagrahar, 2005).

9.2.3. Urban scale and *maqamiat* of built form in Karachi

The urban design scale, which is beyond the scale of a building, serves as the optimal scale for understanding *maqamiat* of the built form. It was ascertained from the case studies that people have affiliations with edges, landmarks, open spaces and certain pathways. The affiliation is hardly with a certain building. Thus, maintaining the overall urban morphology of an area is vital for retaining people’s affiliation with places. Even if individual buildings change, there is no impact on people’s affiliation with the neighbourhood, as people affiliate
with the overall urban morphology and little with individual buildings, unless the building is seen as a landmark by the residents.

Geographers debate the connection between local needs and global aspirations and are concerned with various scales, ranging from the neighbourhood, to the city to the region (Smith 1993; Marston 2000; Sheppard and McMaster 2003; Marston et al. 2005). The relationship between these scales and the social practices associated with them link up to the aspects of maqamiat. The underlying concept in these studies has been that while the influences of the environment are more prominent for people at small scales, there is a symbiotic relationship between the small and the large scale (for instance the scale of the street and the region), thus neither one can be understood in isolation. This is one of the aspects discussed in this research, where the scale at which maqamiat is thought of is important for its manifestation. If an analysis of maqamiat is not inherent in the master plan documents or building and town planning regulations for the city then it will not be reflected physically at the scale of the street, although it may be experienced in the intangible aspects. From the interviews with architects and planners, it was deduced that if the concept of maqamiat is part of the vision for the city in the master plans, it then gets reflected at the neighbourhood level. This means if the master plans and the vision for the city incorporates the idea of retaining the local aspects of the built form and the spaces with which people have social affiliations, the reflection will be there at the urban design scale.

9.2.4. Urban design recommendations to make built form locally responsive in Karachi

Based on the research findings the following urban design recommendations can be put forward to make built form locally responsive in the context of Karachi:

- **Develop regulations to address collectiveness of the built form**

The Karachi Building and Town Planning (KBTP) Regulations do not take into account the collectiveness of the built form. The regulations proposed only address individual buildings. The premise in KBTP is that if an individual building is executed well, the immediate context will be taken care of, which is a very naïve undertaking and does not have practical ramifications.
The master plans on the other hand have strategies proposed for the general development and growth of the city. There is no document or set of regulations that proposes urban design interventions, which is a scale of practice where *maqamiat* of the built form makes its presence. Thus, urban design needs to be recognized, as a profession and a set of byelaws need to be devised for its implementation.

- **The master plan needs to incorporate a scale of intervention that connects to the local**

The regional and city level growth and development strategies proposed in the master plans need to connect to the concept of *maqamiat*. *Maqamiat* needs to be seen as a fact that has environmental, social and economic value. The vision for the city also needs to propose strategies for *maqamiat* at the scale of urban design.

- **The competing elements and challenges to maqamiat need to be addressed**

In Karachi, there are a number of competing processes and challenges to *maqamiat*. These range from social phenomena like migration and change in population, to gentrification, to process of globalization and vernacular; each of which have an impact on *maqamiat* of built form, as the meaning and value changes for the users according to their position in these social processes. These competing processes and challenges need to be completely analysed and incorporated within the larger master plans, addressing their link and value to *maqamiat*. For example, with the migration in 1947 and the change in population of the city from predominantly Hindu to predominantly Muslims, the way buildings were valued changed. Muslims did not value the temples the way they valued the mosques, but the temples remained a part of the urban morphology as reminders of the history of the city.

- **Urban morphology needs to be retained in order to hold on to maqamiat**

Authenticity, adaptability, patina, particularity, permeability, social processes, competing variables and the dimension of time were identified as useful for understanding *maqamiat* of built form. Based on these indicators and the analysis of semi-structured interviews of the residents and users of space in the case study areas, it was revealed that people identify with particular urban elements; with an edge, a monument, a landmark (which can simply be a bus route or bus stop), a node, a path or with overall urban morphology. The association is hardly with an individual building; it is always collective and related to the scale beyond that of a building.
Thus, if individual buildings were to respond to global aesthetics, but the urban morphology of an area were to be retained and the forces of globalization mitigated through environmentally, socially and economically responsive design then maqamiat of an area can be retained.

9.3. The empirical, theoretical and methodological contributions to knowledge

This section sets out the empirical, theoretical and methodological contributions to knowledge of this thesis. The research has had the following four major contributions:

9.3.1. Development of a conceptual framework

First, the research developed a conceptual framework for understanding maqamiat of the built form in an urban context. The conceptual framework identified the indicators that should be looked at for understanding maqamiat of the built form, and the decision-making process and scale of the built form that these indicators should relate to. The conceptual framework also identified a number of phenomena, concepts and parameters that help identify maqamiat of built form.

9.3.2. Urban design recommendations for maqamiat of built form in Karachi

Second, the research has put forward certain urban design recommendations for the built form of Karachi with respect to maqamiat. The urban design recommendations put forward for the built form of Karachi with respect to maqamiat, in Chapter Seven and in Section 9.2.4., revolved around the identification of a scale of urban intervention, where urban morphologies and design qualities instantiating maqamiat can be linked to social, ethnic and economic setups.

It was also concluded that maqamiat needs to be incorporated in the planning and built form regulation documents, in terms of what is valued by local communities, and must be part of newer developments in the city. The newer typologies of the built form, that are neither global nor local, but hybrid in nature, must be addressed in the planning documents, in order to answer global aspirations and local connections within the city.
9.3.3. Theoretical contribution

Thirdly, it was concluded in Chapter Seven that the built form theories miss the intangible dimension of the way people value the built form. As *maqamiat*, may not always be a physical manifestation, thus the built form theories need to be informed by the social processes of the local communities and a cross disciplinary approach reflecting upon society.

9.3.4. Generation of research material

Lastly, in the process of the research, a lot of material, ideas and knowledge about the built form of Karachi have been generated, from which future researches, teaching material and areas of exploration can be extrapolated. For instance, in the process of this research some novel morphologies have been identified (*maidan*, parks, *chowk, chabootra*) with which people associate social and economic meanings. These urban spaces should be analysed and their usage and the way people associate with them should be understood, in order to design responsive urban spaces in the future.

9.4. Evaluation of the research methodology

The methodology for carrying out this investigation was designed to realize the overall aim of the research: understanding *maqamiat* of built form in Karachi. The research started out with a deductive approach where theory was reviewed and indicators for *maqamiat* of built form were highlighted. This was then put together with the ways decisions are taken about the built form along with design qualities and urban morphologies into a conceptual framework. The conceptual framework was then used to firstly understand *maqamiat* of built form in Karachi in general, and then in two case study areas within the city. Thus, the theoretical review was linked to the case studies and led to empirical findings.

The purpose of this section is to critically review the effectiveness of the research strategy, the conceptual framework, data analysis methods and relevant aspects of the overall methodology to point out the achievements and shortcomings in the methods.
9.4.1. Research strategy

The research strategy had the following components:

- Literature review
- The conceptual framework, based on literature review and linked to Karachi
- Qualitative research, based on semi-structured interviews of professionals from different fields; architects, planners, academics, builders and government representatives.
- Case study documentation, incorporating urban morphological analysis, visual documentation, semi-structured interviews, focus group discussions and archive review.
- Workshop, presentation of research findings to a panel of architects, planners and academics.

This thesis initially focused on developing an analysis for maqamiat of built form, through the literature review. The literature review helped identify different aspects of maqamiat of built form, ranging from decisions about the built form, the pre requisites in the form of master plans, the tangibles and intangibles of a context and the connection of the built form with the environmental, social and economic aspects. It was pointed out in the literature review that maqamiat is an integral part of theories of global cities, place, place making, vernacular, critical regionalism and critical vernacular, but these theories are based on the assumption that a certain system of governance is in place in the context thus, their approach is very western, or from the perspective of a context which is very different from that of Karachi. Secondly, these theories focus more on the tangible aspects of maqamiat. It was decided to use the word maqamiat because the Urdu translation of place (Jagha) does not suggest the notion of identity or spirit, and has a physical connotation only, whereas the Urdu translation for localness that is maqamiat, has a strong conceptual meaning attached to the idea of location as it connects the concept of an individual’s identity with place.

Second, it was concluded in the literature review that to understand maqamiat of built form, the role of urban actors, their input in decision making and the resultant urban morphologies need to be analysed. The urban tissue, as a method within the ‘historico geographical approach’, ‘process typological’ and the ‘configurational approach’ was used for this
research, to decode built form in terms of authenticity, adaptability, particularity, patina and connectivity; which are the indicators outlined for *maqamiat* in Chapter Two. This method was appropriate to decode the social and economic influences on the built form and research findings tied up to the resultant physical built form.

Third, the developed conceptual framework was applied to two case studies from within the city. The deductive process allowed theories and principles to be used to develop an initial conceptual framework which could be tested in the field. The inductive approach, in the later part of the research, allowed for the possibility of feedback the findings of the analysis to theory. The application of the conceptual framework onto the case studies offered valuable insights to the investigation. Generally, this process ensured constant feedback to the theoretical framework and findings of the research, thus facilitating the research process. This approach recognized that realities are changeable and that theory and practice are interlinked, with one informing the other.

The qualitative research methodology was effective for this research, because semi structured interviews offered an appropriate technique to inquire about perceptions, interests and meanings associated with the built form by stakeholders from different occupations. This strategy also helped in analysing the way decisions are taken about what should be built in the city of Karachi, as this decision process was narrated by different urban actors involved. Focus group discussions however proved to be an inadequate method for collecting information from the field. Although these enabled people from different occupations to come on a common platform and discuss the research question at hand, but women were not allowed to participate freely in these discussions because of social norms. The debate generated in the focus groups however, helped the researcher identify different aspects of the built form that are appreciated by the male residents and users of space, and how they are valued. In order to get the feedback from the women residents’ individual interviews were undertaken.

Morphological and typological documentation, personal observation, photographic and moving images documentation and archive review were some other methods used in the research. These methods helped in triangulating the data that was obtained through semi-structured interviews and focus groups in the case study areas.
The case study methodology facilitated in depth analysis of the research problem. These case studies acted as narratives and created a link between the theory and conceptual framework and helped in engaging with strategies and policy recommendations for achieving maqamiat of built form. Moreover, the case studies provided a real world scenario in which to test the conceptual framework.

Next, the findings of the case studies, along with the conceptual framework were presented before a group of professional architects and planners from the city. A discussion was generated around the meaning of maqamiat for Karachi, and the ways the professions of architecture and planning can contribute to it. This led to development of urban design recommendations which can feed back into the profession. By presenting the findings to a panel of architects, planners and academia, the research went a full circle and research and practice were further connected.

This research method also had some limitations which might have affected the research results. These are summarized here:

1. Biases and intrusion of values of the interviewees can affect the research data.
2. Lack of understanding of the interviewees of environmental, social and economic responsiveness of built form can influence upon their responses.
3. Group effects like dominance of certain individuals in focus groups can also influence upon the quality of the data.
4. Absence of women from focus group discussions can influence the generalization of findings.
5. Low participation in focus groups can also effect the generalization of results.

In order to minimize these potential limitations of the research methods, triangulation of the research data was used.
9.4.2. Conceptual framework

In order to understand *maqamiat* of built form a multi-dimensional conceptual framework was developed. This framework was supported by literature review of global city, place, place making, place affiliation, vernacular, critical vernacular and critical regionalism theories. The urban morphological, urban design and cultural theories also supported this framework. Indicators, such as, authenticity, adaptability, patina, particularity, connectivity, social processes, competing variables and time were identified as indicators for understanding *maqamiat* of built form. These indicators were extracted from the theories reviewed. Later, this framework was used for collecting and analysing data in the field.

The conceptual framework addressed a wide variety of issues within the multi-dimensional range of interactions, and was flexible enough to accommodate different urban scenarios, one was the old city of Karachi, and the other was the contemporary development within the city having some heritage buildings.

9.4.3. Data Analysis Methods

Content, narrative and focus group analysis were the three techniques used for analysing the data obtained through semi structured interviews and focus group discussions. These analysis techniques incorporated coding of the data into similar themes using NVIVO software (Appendix 10) which were in turn linked to the research areas explored and the specific research questions asked, morphological and space syntax analysis and study of moving and still images by grouping images together and creating links with the spaces mentioned in the interviews (Appendix 3 and 13). The urban morphological information gathered in the field was put into maps, which linked up to the verbal data obtained from the field. This allowed for the triangulation and validation of the data. The semi structured interviews gave information about how space is valued by the users, and the morphological analysis using space syntax software revealed the physical connections and disconnections of the case study areas.
9.5. The transferability of the research findings and future directions for research

This research has focused on the study of maqamiat of built form, in the historical and contemporary context of Karachi. A part of the research looks at the overall city in general and two case study areas are included for in-depth research and application of the conceptual framework to study and analyse the socio-spatial transformations.

The research has answered the primary question about how can maqamiat of built form be understood and what built form elements constitute to maqamiat. This research can be taken further by application of the framework to other contexts, within the objectives outlined for this research. Exploration can also be made in different urban contexts, within Karachi or in other contemporary cities of Pakistan. Implementing the framework for understanding maqamiat of built form in other contexts would contribute to the identification of similar or different aspects of maqamiat, which in turn can lead to further refinement of the framework.

This research can also be taken further through advocacy with local professional bodies like Institute of Architects and Planners (IAP) and Pakistan Council of Architects and Planners (PCATP), where policy recommendations proposed can be implemented in real life urban scenario to create locally responsive built form. This should be followed up with pre- and post-hoc studies to evaluate the performance of the policy guidance and recommendations of this research. This would add to the better understanding of the community responses to local and global influences, and the methods for managing transitions of built form.

Furthermore, the findings and outcomes of this research should be used to evaluate current planning paradigms, especially those that are spatially oriented. This review can lead to recommend changes in urban design practice within the city. The need for an urban design statutory body and the devising of regulations for urban design can be looked into for the city of Karachi, as this thesis establishes the requirement for a scale of intervention at the urban design level that connects to maqamiat. This would also further strengthen the link between theory and practice, and reduce the gap between government deciding to shape the city and the values of users of the built form.
Art forms that may add to *maqamiyat* of the city can be one of the future research focus too, as pointed out in the discussion with professional architects and planners.

### 9.6. A concluding statement

This research was not completed without certain limitations. Among many others obtaining data from professionals was an uphill task, because a culture of documentation and archiving is almost non-existent in Pakistan, and at times people were just not willing to share. The lack of availability of maps, government documents and other forms of records was another challenge. In the field, it was difficult to explain the nature of research to the layperson because the daily primary concerns are not to do with aesthetics and languages of the built form, but with concerns of water, adequate sewerage supply and health and education facilities. The gender domination was another issue faced during field research, because women were not allowed to freely participate in the focus groups, and at times they were not allowed to engage in discussions with the researcher by the men of the household as the researcher did not belong to the same ethnicity.

On the other hand being affiliated with the Department of Architecture and Planning, NED University and having previously studied and taught architecture and urban design in the city of Karachi provided the knowledge of relevant people to be approached and the processes and formalities of protocols. It also facilitated the interaction with key stakeholders and the analysis of local urban problems.
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Appendix 1: Part Matrix documenting various buildings and urban design projects post independence (1947): ‘The Lived Representational Space’

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Name of building</th>
<th>Paradigm</th>
<th>Typology</th>
<th>Architect/ designer</th>
<th>Date of construction</th>
<th>Parameters of Inquiry</th>
<th>Policies, Plans, Projects, Institutional Development</th>
<th>Political Events</th>
<th>Institutional Events</th>
<th>Economic and Social Events</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>1947-58: Karachi as the Capital of Pakistan</strong></td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>Karachi Municipal Corporation Building</td>
<td>Colonial</td>
<td>Public Architecture</td>
<td>Pre-Partition</td>
<td>To investigate and analyse the evolution of public and corporate architecture in Karachi and various influences ranging from socio-political happenings, changing dynamics of the city, qualification of architects, international</td>
<td>1947 – creation of Pakistan with Karachi as capital</td>
<td>1951 – Karachi Improvement Trust created for re-construction and development</td>
<td>1950 – Green revolution pushes many people from rural to urban areas</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>Beach Luxury Hotel</td>
<td>Mannerism</td>
<td>Corporate Architecture</td>
<td>Daruwala and company</td>
<td>1948</td>
<td>Greater Karachi Re Settlement Plan 1956-58</td>
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<tr>
<td>Institute of Business Administration</td>
<td>Modernism</td>
<td></td>
<td>William Perry</td>
<td>1954</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td><strong>1959-85: Karachi as the economic and cultural hub of Pakistan</strong></td>
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<tr>
<td>Midway House</td>
<td>Modernism</td>
<td></td>
<td>Habib Fida Ali</td>
<td>1982</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td><strong>1986-2011: Karachi as the Economic hub of Pakistan</strong></td>
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<tr>
<td>TCF Schools</td>
<td>Post</td>
<td>Public Architecture</td>
<td>ASA (pvt.) ltd</td>
<td>1980s</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>Building/Project</td>
<td>Style</td>
<td>Architect/Designers</td>
<td>Year</td>
<td>Notes</td>
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<tr>
<td>Cavish Court</td>
<td>Modernism</td>
<td>Habib Fida Ali</td>
<td>1987</td>
<td>govt. on revenue sharing dispute</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>B.R.R Capital Modarba</td>
<td>Modernism</td>
<td></td>
<td>1989</td>
<td>Karachi Strategic Plan 2020</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Islamic Chamber of Commerce and Commodity Exchange</td>
<td>Modernism</td>
<td>Habib Fida Ali</td>
<td>1991</td>
<td>2001 – All development authorities merged into one CDGK. Karachi divided into 18 towns</td>
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<tr>
<td>Commercial Union Building</td>
<td>Modernism</td>
<td>Habib Fida Ali</td>
<td>1992</td>
<td>MCB Tower</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>Jinnah Terminal</td>
<td>Public Architecture</td>
<td>NESPAC, Airconsult (Frankfurt, Germany)</td>
<td>1992</td>
<td>1998 – ZMCs formed KMC Council re-elected</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>Lady Duffrin</td>
<td>Modernism</td>
<td>Original building built in 1890, recent addition by Tariq Alexander Qaiser</td>
<td></td>
<td>2001 – SLGO – promulgated party less elections</td>
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</table>
Appendix 2: Transcription of Workshop Discussion

Date: 24-04-15

Attendees:

Architect Yawar Jilani (YJ)
Architect Moyeena Ahmed (MA)
Prof. Dr. Noman Ahmed (NA)
Associate Prof. Architect Fariha Amjad (FA)
Assistant Prof. Architect Masooma Mohib Shakir (MMS)
Assistant Prof. Architect Fahmida Sheikh (FS)
Assistant Prof. Architect Shabnum Nigar (SN)
Lecturer Architect Rahat Arsalan (RA)
Planner Islamuddin Siddiqui and Planner Farhan Anwar
YJ: I think the topic is very apt, this talk abut localness because in our everyday lives, in our practices we search for this. Whenever we put pencil to paper we think what is localness in the context of that particular challenge of the day. It might not seems so when the end product comes out. I think the things you said, you hit the nail on its head, that certainly culture plays a very important role. I tell myself that it is very interesting that while all the countries in the Indian subcontinent have been nation states for 65 years but if you look at our urban environment it is all so similar. Its chaotic, it has spurts of brilliance all of that, but that’s localness. Even our low income settlements have a similarity. When you look at images from Rio, I have not been to Rio, but the images look very similar to our low income settlements. Somehow I can relate to their low income settlements and ours. Like they will always be next to the railway lines because they have also encroached railway land. So there is similar culture, corruption, mind set, where will I go straight, where will I turn, all of these things start playing a part. You havnt mentioned any of this but that’s really what it is.

Then how do people adapt to issues. If your family is of ten people how will you live, how will you keep adding structures etc. etc. Then if you are middle class you have your own aspirations. There starts relationship with an architect. The architect will have his/ her own ideas. He would have studied Corbu, I am talking about India/Pakistan right now. In localness we follow a certain path, we in this room have a similar mindset and people sitting in a room in Mumbai will have a similar mindset. It will be different from your professors in UK. Some or the other this is something up there. Maybe you need to do some research on people and how they think, genetic makeup, why we create something straight and something not straight. But these things start playing a part. From this angle culture plays a very important role in creating localness.

One wonders about the level of localness which is in Karachi and the level of localness which is in Lahore, having said that the pathways are what makes the localness of that city. You have spoken about urban design and planning aspects but I really feel that localness to a greater degree is created by that bigger macro imprint, which happens and how do you make that happen. Which lets say in Karachi has been done by Stratchen, and somebody else in Lahore, in Islamabad its Doxiades. The imagery, Localness to me is Mall road in Lahore, the Aitcheson and other architectural aspects happen, they sync that greater theme. For me the creation of the bigger footprint is important. Otherwise my worry is localness disappears, has it vaporized. It is there but …….You are in Europe, in UK, in Oxford, I mean that is localness. The strength of preserving that localness, the importance of it. But in a country like ours where …….you are talking about the old city but I don’t personally think you will have an old city in the next 100 years or maybe next 50 years. The way it is disappearing in front of our eyes and there will be one reason or the other but economics is the key thing and the way we are multiplying our selves. So I think while our built heritage might just collapse under this heavy weight of vanity and development but this thing which is us will again create something that is similar and maybe there will be evolution in thought processes out of discussions such as this which will bring some sense into the way we develop ourselves. This is the way I look at it. I don’t know if I am answering your question but I think localness is important.
SA: One clarification. When you talk about the disappearing of the old city, individual buildings may go but the urban morphology will remain, that is the narrow meandering streets. So the larger stroke that you are talking about remains.

YJ: My worry is with the rapid bus transit is implemented on one section of MA Jinnah, it is going to ruin the road. Similarly if there is another Malik Riaz after fifteen years and another Asif Zardari and they demolish a block, it will be a loss again. So with the speed that we are going with today how much of the city will remain. Maybe there is a level of despondency here but I think there is a level of realism too.

FA: I think Yawar has raised a very important question which seems to be missing in the research. The focus is micro and the macro is missing. Your investigation focus is on architecture, urban design and planning. What about the other art forms that are present in the city which may not necessarily be morphology like music, values, conversation, art forms. Can really urban experience exclusive to architectural products and street planning. I think in a new city it’s a product of all of that. In our case there are other things like coke studio, in other disciplines not just architecture and the respondents to your questions may be influenced by them and not only by the built form.

I could not understand how did you take out urban indicators from the parameters you mentioned. And at the second thing is that when you came down to the case identification which dealt with those features I thought the traits that you mentioned like organic order are very generic. Aesthetics is very general. So one wonders what is it about the aesthetics that makes it local. Or what is it about the building that makes it local. Is it the organic order, is it the rustication or something. Secondly there could also be a question what local means for Karachiits, Pakistanis or for anybody …..because the local has become something that belongs to the past. Because even for a European city the organic order presents nostalgia. And in our practice we all look for Karachi particular something. I thought those aspects could become more detailed, more specific, based on some field work.

……………..

SN: I think the question you have raised cannot be answered in a single answer. Karachi is a divided kind of city. One area is more effected by global influences and other are more local. In the global part of the city there is some localness and the local part of the city obviously has localness. It needs to be looked at from different points of views, like for instance Arif Hasan says that there are 5 cities within this city. Perhaps you cannot bring localness in the same manner in all the 5 types of cities within Karachi. Perhaps you need to specify that are you talking about localness in the global part, or localness in the local part of the city.

Then the other thing that you spoke about if the morphology of an area remains and individual buildings are replaced, then the character of the area can only remain if the entire block is not bulldozed. If the property lines are maintained. When London was burnt it was rebuilt in the same manner because although the buildings had burnt but the property lines remained. So the question is if the property lines are maintained there is more of a possibility
of the localness remaining. According to the new law which talks about amalgamation of plots then property lines donot remain.

FA: I think this whole inquiry into the organic order seems to be very exaggerated. This is weber’s work and is meant for cities that are walked in. Our cities are not walk able cities. So the experience of an organic order doesnot remain. You never walk the cities so don’t experience anything.

SA: This is not an inquiry into the organic order. All I am doing is taking two case studies and trying to see what is localness and globalness in these two areas with different morphologies separately.

FS: My question is that when we talk about the Old Town it is very colonial and someone living within it has a different feeling and we feel differently about it. So by local what is the meaning to be conceived for the word. When you are comparing an old area with a modern area and identifying localness within it so the real meaning of localness needs to be spelled out, in your definition that meaning is not there.

FA: I think what Yawar was saying or the work of Moyeena and others, you see architects and repeating certain elements, color, texture, material in some particular ways and in some particular ways they are trying to bring out some elements.

MN: The locals define localness. No matter where they live, the people of the city, of the area define localness. The localness of the path, because people are born in there, live in there therefore they define the localness. Locals of that time, the colonial area they were developed by them for a particular class, they are gone now. So they were a different people. So the areas we are living in now and the way we develop them that will become local.

The other thing is that what is local today may not be local tomorrow. Before partition there was a different group of people. But after partition all the architects coming to the city were from the west and they did a lot of work which was obviously influenced by globalness. Now that we have local architects graduating from local universities, so for that someone who was born in Karachi and has lived in Karachi and was educated here and did architecture from here as well, then I think it gets evolved itself. I think it’s a constant dynamic process which is in constant change so if you define it this minute it will then change. The dimension of time is important.

FA: It will be interesting to find out that the particular elements that give the local flavor are they regional, are they Asian, are they Karachi specific. For example courtyards, they have become a symbol of Asian, regional architecture which each region thinks is local for them. Things like courtyards and natural textures.

MN: When we say design is contextual or not, as architects, I am not talking as urban designers, I always think about the context and do a site analysis. I think Karachi is so large that if I am doing projects in two different areas of Karachi my philosophy will also vary. Like you when you were doing those schools out of Karachi, I think I asked you the link with
Karachi, and you said that these schools are out of Karachi thus you have to define your boundaries.

SA: Moyeen my thesis is beyond the scale of buildings. Scale is important for localness. As Yawar sb said there is chaos, there is a lot happening in Karachi so architects are not even involved in that form, that scale.

YJ: Its interesting. All of you must have friends coming from abroad. When you pick them from the airport you want them to take pictures of KMC building etc which you want to show as local but they don’t take pictures of that and are interested in capturing all that you want to hide. Because to them that is localness. Our buses are absolutely identified as localness. Then all the big banners, be it political or otherwise. Our streets speak so much. The streets in the west are grey and sterilized. In the Indian subcontinent there is a similarity, because there is no control. One is given money and asked to put whatever. Then the filth, then the haphazardness. So this to me is localness. More so in Karachi then in Lahore. Beyond Lahore they are all like us. Gujranwala, Sialkot and the rest of the place. In Lahore there is still that historical legacy that is continuing. I think that is localness, that mind set, that culture. Honking, the sound in our cities the minute you land here. You don’t hear these voices elsewhere in the city.

FA: I think this can be very interesting. Karachi is not just about beautiful things. Its about poles being messed up, filth, one can really do an exercise where in Photoshop you clean up the street. Fix the street, make the poles straight, remove the filth and ask anyone if this is Karachi. SO then you realize that that’s not Karachi, not local. So sometimes something horrible……. It is interesting that the visitors coming to the city are to types, if they are architects they will notice different things, because your study is also about architects, they notice different things than the ordinary tourist, for architect the built form, the tall concrete structures in the informal settlements are peculiar.

SA: But something like the Dolmen Mall isn’t.

FA: It isn’t. But they would still go there for the local experience of the summation of the types of people, clothes etc. From the social and economic aspect and not so much from the physical aspect.

SA: Where as we would want to show that off as something local, a new building that has come up. So that kind of shows that for us local is something different and for people/ architects coming into the city the local is something else.

YJ: Localness to me is the greater coming together, of people and all of that which when you fill that space that’s really what makes the localness more than the architecture and what they bring to that through various aspects in combination.

MN: I think different areas have different byelaws and regulations within Karachi. I think if the urban fabric can be controlled it can be through a uniformer bylaw but I don’t think that is under control.
SA: This is also a peculiar character of our context where we don't have policies with regards to urban design. We practice as architects or planners but not as urban designers because the framework doesn't exist.

YJ: But we have all tried. We have been to the government representatives and have tried to explain them the need for urban design, work on the bigger palette but it comes back to the cultural issue where neither do they understand nor do they want to understand.

MMS: That is very interesting how people working in the government departments think about design as politicians versus the architects. There is a disconnect and there is no working relationship.

MN: And aspiration of statements like we want to make Karachi like Dubai. That's a bad thing to say about Karachi, why Dubai?.

FS: ............I feel this localness can work better for us and for our tourism if we look at our planning from that point of view.

FA: Suneela what do you think this search for local and trying to inject that in our designs is it just the skin that should paced, not just in Pakistan, does it go beyond the skin?

SA: I think it should go beyond the skin.

FA: Should, but what is happening is it is only on the skin. Your work centers on architects and professionally designed places, places like Mazdar city, they are very consciously trying to achieve this goal. Is it just the skin or deeper in the case of Mazdar.

MMS: Do you think it is more about the urban experience or more ……the other things that we talk about goes beyond the scale of the building.

SA: Physical is a part of it. The built form is a part of the experience but other things overshadow it- become perhaps more important.

MN: With respect to the visitor thing- the supar sawari bus- when I mentioned it a lot of people thought I was joking- when I went on the trip a lot of people told me they thought I was joking saying why did I want to go on that trip you have seen Saddar. Why cant I be a tourist in my own city? If I started walking since morning in Florence and came home at night no one made fun of me. But a lot of people thought why we should pay Rs. 2000 to see our own city? But now someone called me asking if I could get them a seat on the bus because they are booked for the whole year which means there are enough people who care about the urban fabric of the city and who want to see it because for us it has even become difficult to see Saddar, we can't take it for granted any more.

FA: But you know this goes on to prove that the concept of localness that we currently carry is not physical. Its based on combination of memory, associations, presumptions because the new generation who has not seen Saddar.......
MN: When I went on the trip there were lot of Pakistanis but there were foreigners also who had come on their own and people they were living with were not there.

MMS: I think it has to do with national consciousness and cultural pride because a lot of people associate with this as culture. There is a certain group of people who say we should do something about it.

MN: I think you should take that tour. I went for the architecture because I love old buildings but their tour was about diversity. They made visit different places of worship within close proximity. All were within walking distance and we could enter all of them. They said Karachi is a city where people of different religions were living together within walking distance pre partition. All these religious buildings still exist. So the heart of Karachi is that diverse. So Karachi is a city that has addressed that diversity and cherishes it.

NA: I take that as a work in progress for doctoral thesis and have a few comments for that. First thing is to establish the unit of analysis. I think localness of the built form appears to be the unit of analysis but assuming you were in a situation of PhD viva the first thing that will be asked will be about how do you compare this particular unit of analysis with the competing variables such as indigenous, vernacular and the theoretical underpinnings that justify that. There seems to be a need for a definitive rigor to justify localness as the best possible choice of term that defines the framework that you have shown to us so that your argument holds and then the process should also connect in a step by step manner that the chosen literature that you have referred is also able to establish the significance of the unit of analysis that you are focusing at.

I have five specific observations about the whole discussion about localness:

1. First I think localness also needs to be connected with the power structure. It is important because the power structure changes the perception of users and also the expression in which those perceptions are communicated. I just refer to one student assignment that we did. There was a UIE assignment that was given to us somewhere around 1985. And were given the task to identify one pre British building in Karachi. We were a group of 17 students and each of us were asked to identify one pre British building in Karachi and state the most significant opening that articulates its architectural character and built form. It was an extremely tough assignment and interestingly most of the buildings we identified were either from the periphery in Malir remote ends of Lyari and there were few buildings that were built by the local fishermen in what was called the Old Town, they were still living, half demolished but still utilized. There was this old community called the Lohana community which in fact disappeared within a few years of the exercise. The crux of the whole exercise was to extrapolate the architectural character and built form of the building using that opening and justify that the opening is a representative of the built form which we were trying to portray as representatives of pre British Karachi. Now once these 17 assignments were done they were mapped and there was a geography that was created...
related to that built form where a collective interpretation was prepared by all of those 17 students put together. I don’t know how successful it was but gave us immense opportunity to explore pre British Karachi and later on when we went and tried to identify some of those buildings most of them were no more. So I think power structure is something where we need to see how power existing in a society assigns a certain type of value system to the built form or the objects within the built form and how they are subscribed by the common people. I have read articles related to some of the colonial buildings where the local communities are completely denouncing them and much of this literature is in Sindhi language. So in fact one gentleman on who’s name is this road next to the campus, Moulana Din Mohd Wafai, he was an ardent critique of the structures that the British left, and he says that these are the structures that try to enforce or impose grandeur on our local destiny and that narrative was questioning the objects that we are today celebrating. So it was a different power structure. He talks about two categories of human beings, one was categorized as citizens and the other were the subjects, so he says that when these subjects will take control of our destiny, the built form around us is going to change. So I think the discussion around the power structure both tangible and intangible will make an interesting contribution.

2. The second attribute is the mode of intervention in the physical environment. If the mode of intervention in the physical environment has certain types of pre requites defined the manifestation also speaks in the same manner. The premise in which the current built environment is organized in Karachi and elsewhere in Pakistan says that by fixing units we can take care of the whole. That’s how our building byelaws, building regulations and other frameworks that regulate the environment are structured. They donot talk about any collectivity of the built environment. They believe that if you do a house well follow a set of rules and byelaws the outcome overall is going to be appropriate and probably related. That’s why your contention of having an urban design practice comes into play that whether we need any kind of collective manifestation of a practice of that kind or not.

3. Third attribute is the whole process of continuity in the description and extrapolations of the variable of localness. Continuity is something that goes on and it is usually believed to be a spin off of time but in many cases it is not just the time variable alone. In many cases it is the social processes and the social processes often overlap and donot leave a specific time mark in the chronology. So that where I believe you can identify trends but they may not be very distinguishable in terms of time dimension. They may have longer stretched overlaps in certain cases they would acquire a certain type of strength and rigor but they would then phase out. They would do so in a rather gentle manner without having any distinct time mark to identify them.

4. The fourth factor is the migrations and the change in population and the processes that generate these changes in population because in many cases the changes in population generate the changes in user group. Both directly connected user groups and indirectly connected user groups. Now many of the experiences that were cherished and documented in the accounts of history have now very different positions in the
society. And in many cases they have abandoned for different reasons and in many cases they have been replaced by new processes which have brought by the newer group of population that has gone in. So one needs to see how one can qualify this new and old and probably depict that what is going to happen in the times to come.

5. The fifth observation here is that what are the competing rather contrasting variables to localness and how do they impact the built environment. If we have localness as one point that can generate certain types of celebrations for the artifacts, built form and other elements that we have in the environment what are the challenges that it faces and whether those challenges are within the ambit of any form of regulation or whether they are stand alone challenges which Yawar was just mentioning about Bahria Town syndrome and similar other syndromes which in many cases have become so powerful that they no longer can be brought under any form of regulation. But I find a remarkable similarity between the Bahria Town and these types of syndromes and James Stratchen. He was also a force, although a regulated force that many would perceive but he had this whole deign manual that shaped about 76 buildings within 1 km radius in the time span of 30 years. So given the time, technology and resources of that time I think it was a huge change that occurred in this very small precinct.

SA: When you spoke about social processes and continuity and the time variable is difficult to identify. Can you explain what you mean?

NA: For example there are many things in which the process of constructing a building started; lets take apartments as an example. During the 1970s when Abad came into being and builders were given the opportunity to identify flat site passes and construct apartments under a certain process that evolved as a nescient process and it did not connect with the apartments that we already had meaning Burns road and other old apartments and then it continued and evolved and one format of apartment design was practiced and practiced and very quickly relinquished and a new form of apartment design was taken over so if we were asked to identify where did it begin and where did it end it is difficult.

MN: With respect to social processes… as I said people made fun of me when I went to see Saddar, when I was on the bus I realized how I was impacting the people in the area I was walking in because I was a different Karachiite then the Saddar Karachiite. When we were having breakfast in Jehangir Park that guy said that every week about 50-100 people are coming here because of that many rickshaw drivers have started coming there. When we were walking we were warned if someone asks us to show around we should not follow them……………..so I realized that people going to the area made the locals realize, even if it’s a begger child, that people are coming to see me there is something important in my street. It sort of builds a sense of pride. It’s a different social process which is not architecture but leaves a mark on somebody, my place, my city. They don’t have the value of their building but when people visit them, see them, photograph them, there were 4-5 journalists on the bus and many foreigners. There was a cook from another country………for the tastes of the area. Many things that you will predict in the social
processes you got to define certain parameters which will be consistent; anybody can identify change, Bahria wala or the start of the bus tour, they are all going to impact what’s happening.

YJ: I think by the way we look forward to your PhD, I hope it becomes a book something because I think it’s such a potent subject and the moment you see a book or something entitled Built form and localness you want to pick that up. I still feel in a society like ours, a country like ours, areas are changing so rapidly, Bath island is not the Bath island we all remember. It has changed so rapidly over the last 20 years. The people living there now are of a different community, different type, and the way I see it for example, you were talking about Clifton, I think it will be like Manhattan in the next 25 years with buildings like the Bahria Icon with DHA merging in. Then in the next 25 years it will change again. So for me localness is the people, what I am trying to say, the intangibles so to say. Because that is a consistency and a thought process of some sorts. And an articulation of some buildings which Noman bought up, you can look it that as well, but I think the intangibles as well, how is a sense of spirit blown into it is something to be looked at.

SN: Areas may not change, maybe Saddar has the same face but if the users change then everything changes.

MMS: The laws and the enforcement issues of the laws and it’s the way police wala comes over, changes things. The adaptability also........There are many cities which are completely static and for them Karachi is like NY and they look at Karachi as a global city with buildings and infrastructure. So their comparison is constantly with Karachi. That is also a kind of background for Karachi, they always miss that.

FA: I think one part of your research can also cover blogs and social media. That’s mainstream and people do post images and ideas. Humans of Karachi…. A very large population seems to agree on those items or features.

RA: There is another social media website with the name of penup in which sketches are put up. Which are a representation of what they are seeing.

FS: People opt for certain eatoutes which represent a certain flavor of the society so how do we include those in localness.

FA: At some level you will have to see the impact of gentrification also. What things did you gentrify, what you didn’t so how can your research not go into that. Because in way one way you are also trying to pick up some things which one can gentrify. I don’t really agree with your opinion of the Mazdar city because that is also an example of the same. It is either a commodification of the local or it’s a gentrification of the local. And an argument that one can make is that anything that is commodified does not have to be a local and everything that is commodified at some point so I think all these parameters, which Noman Sahab said counter parameters, some of course you get from urban literature, but some you also get from critical theory, from field of urban studies, this is one area that it needs to go in because they are already talking about it.
MN: Migration also impacts. They are so many people who leave Pakistan also, and then eventually come back.

FS: UK PhD are focused on morphological studies. It’s a post colonial project because after the physical conquest its an information conquest where they have the agenda that we have made this theoretical model now we will analyze all the cities in Asia through this lens. I don’t believe in urban design and urban space. Urban space and urban design is dead. Its not needed. Urban space serves the creation of urban square and urban space which is a Modernist desire to recreate some sort of pedestrianised inner core. This is not there. The mall interior space is the urban square.

NA: The whole perception of urban space has changed that’s why the whole discourse around practice has to surface out.

SA: what is the scale between architecture and planning then, is it not urban design?

FA: It is not needed. We a living in a simulacrum.

NA: Classical text on urban design Broadbent etc….But the exercise we did in Asia Link Project, although the spin off was urban design, but we entered into a new context and new set of terminologies and some of those paradigms had very realistic reference to what was happening and how the interventions could have been shaped.

There is a big problem with terms. Urban design is conventionally considered to be the meso scale between……… but it has changed big time now. There is a bigger difference now specially in places where practice adopted to it. In places where it has not been adopted it is still hanging, floating. It happened in some places in Europe. The two classical examples that help understand and explore that dimension were the canary wharfs, because there was huge criticism and the entire media stood up, the other was this utopis behind St Palul’s monstrosity that Sir Norman Foster was erecting. It was a theoretical project and the idea behind it was challenging the London skyline. But the debate around that led to development in theory and since they already had that meso scale practice that’s why it made a difference.

FA: But its there in German neighborhood. But perhaps that is housing. We are looking for urban design where the property ownerships are different.

MN: People from there live there. They havn’t left their countries. We are in a state of flux, standing on the roads.

FA: This is a very good thesis. But I thought in all the discussion there is a desire to search for something tangle. Someone gives me the formula that we can apply. The awards of architecture will be important, pritzker prize. I would study the awards and decipher what the people in that power structure or professionals are considering local.

It is still an open question for Karachi because we still don’t have globally recognized local master architects to get out a set of language. Lahore still has a couple of architects.
NA: Karachi came very near in very remote past. I think if Raglan Square and Mehendi Ali Mirza had made it, the firm that won the completion for Mausoleum of Quaid-e-Azam.

MN: Universities also makes a difference. NCA in Lahore has been there for a very long period. Nayyur Ali Dadda is a Lahori designing for Lahore. Yawar sahib went abroad, got his influences from other places, those formative years are very important.

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### Appendix 3: Some images of Case Study Areas

#### OLD TOWN

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<thead>
<tr>
<th>Main Road</th>
<th>![Image 1]</th>
<th>![Image 2]</th>
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<tr>
<td>Usage of streets by people</td>
<td>![Image 3]</td>
<td>![Image 4]</td>
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<td>Community run school and hospital</td>
<td>![Image 5]</td>
<td>![Image 6]</td>
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<tr>
<td>Markets</td>
<td>![Image 7]</td>
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<td>Newer buildings</td>
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<td>Shrines</td>
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<td>Tertiary Streets</td>
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Stone facades

Old and new structures together
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<th>KEHKASHAN BLOCK 5 CLIFTON</th>
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<td><strong>Bungalows</strong></td>
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<td><strong>Consulate</strong></td>
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<td><img src="image4.png" alt="Image" /></td>
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<tr>
<td><strong>Cooperate built form</strong></td>
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<td><strong>Bungalow style recent houses</strong></td>
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<td>Landmarks</td>
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<td>Mausoleum</td>
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<td><img src="#" alt="Image 5" /></td>
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<td>Medium rise commercial</td>
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### GENERALABAD

<table>
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<th>Category</th>
<th>Images</th>
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<tr>
<td>Informal practices</td>
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<tr>
<td>Streets</td>
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<td>Main road</td>
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<td>Newer buildings</td>
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<tr>
<td>Jirgah</td>
<td>Informality around the railway lines</td>
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Appendix 4: Some sketches of case study areas

OLD TOWN

Sketch 01: Stone details of buildings in Old Town

Sketch 02: Pilasters, lintels, baroque carving, indented windows - particular features of buildings in Old Town
Sketch 03: Metal grills, *chabootra* (platform)-particular features of buildings in Old Town

Sketch 04: Pilasters, lintels, wooden screens - particular features of buildings in Old Town
KEHKASHAN CLIFTON

Sketch 05: The newer buildings constructed in Kehkashan Clifton promoting a global image for the city

Sketch 06: Older structures in Kehkashan serving as reminders of Colonial era
Sketch 07: Older structures in Kehkashan serving as reminders of Colonial era
### Appendix 5: Focus group interview with residents and shop owners of Old Town – Transcription and Analysis

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Indicators of localness of built form</th>
<th>Reference from Focus Group</th>
<th>Analysis</th>
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<tr>
<td><strong>Environmental responsiveness</strong></td>
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</table>
| Authenticity                         | • The area is known as Methadar or Khadda or old city. 8-10 markets are included in the old city, from JoriaBazzar to Lea market (S-1)  
• We are an introverted community and our limits our defined by the markets present within the area rather than by roads or jurisdictions. This is also because jurisdiction and systems of governance keeps changing under various governments (S-2) | • An introverted community defined by the markets present in the area rather than by jurisdictions or roads.  
• A locality existing since the inception of the city but the same community inhabiting it over the years. |
| Particularity                        | • There are also many old buildings present in the area which belong to the Hindu Merchants who used to live here. Not all of these buildings are listed but most of them have a particular style and have been retained over time. Although with commercialization seeping into the locality many of these buildings are being replaced with new glass and steel structures (S-1)  
• The locality has narrow and meandering streets which is not seen in other parts of the city and the presence of Colonial buildings and Hindu Architecture in the area also gives the area its uniqueness (S-1)  
• The area has generally become congested because it has developed adhocly without any proper planning which has also given rise to crime and theft on the streets (S-3) | • Old built form.  
• Narrow meandering streets.  
• Physical Congestion |
| Adaptability                         | • The lack of provision of civic amenities by the government have been adapted to by us by operating socially run schools and hospitals through charity from wealthy members of the society (S-1) | • Because of a strong social presence the communities have taken over the role of providers and have worked together to provide for schooling and health care for their people |
| Patina                               | • The locality of Kharadar has existed since the origin of the city of Karachi. Initially it was surrounded by water on all sides, water came up to the Sukkan Shah Mazaar on one side and the Old Mandir on the other side. It has always accommodated various markets and has always had mixed used development (S-1) | • Continuity of the built form  
• Mixed use development |
| Permeability                         | • The locality is introverted, narrow streets prevent easy vehicular access. | • Introverted, narrow streets prevent easy vehicular |
Donkey carts and man drawn carts are used to get goods to the shops. This has helped retain the character of the locality and rate of change has been slow over the years (S-3)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Economic Responsiveness</th>
<th>Authenticity</th>
<th>With the growth of the city the markets in area have remained the main wholesale markets of the city and the market activity has intensified.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Adaptability</td>
<td>There are also many old buildings present in the area which belong to the Hindu Merchants who used to live here. Not all of these buildings are listed but most of them have a particular style and have been retained over time. Although with commercialization seeping into the locality many of these buildings are being replaced with new glass and steel structures (S-1)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Patina</td>
<td>The markets especially the cloth market is a specialty of the area. These markets have been present since independence and the locality has taken a certain shape and form because of these markets (S-2)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Social Responsiveness</th>
<th>Authenticity</th>
<th>A mixed ethnicity resides here peacefully since its inception, there are mostly Muslims and Hindus, there aren’t any Christians. (S-2)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Particularity</td>
<td>There are many issues in the area like water, electricity, security and congestion but we have been living here since birth, this was the settlement that our fathers choose to settle in after migrating from India in 1947 thus we have very strong cultural ties and donot want to shift anywhere else in the city (S-1)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Adaptability</td>
<td>Because of the security situation in the locality we don’t sit in the streets anymore (S-3) We do however have some interaction with friends in the shops (S-3) Children play in the streets only on Sundays when the market is closed because on other days the area is too congested for them to be out on the streets (S-4) There are no parks in close proximity where we can interact with friends thus most of the interaction takes place at home (S-4) Most of the areas allocated for parks have been encroached upon by builders and buildings have been erected (S-1)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Permeability</td>
<td>The homogeneity of the community also tends in the locality’s favor with the streets becoming extension of the houses (S-2)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

access. Donkey carts and man drawn carts are used to get goods to the shops. This has helped retain the character of the locality and rate of change has been slow over the years
Appendix 6: Focus group interview with residents and shop owners of Generalabad- Transcription and Analysis

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Indicators of localness in built form</th>
<th>Reference from Focus Group</th>
<th>Analysis</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Environmental responsiveness</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Particularity</td>
<td>• It is close to porch localities of the city (S-1)</td>
<td>• The fact that the locality is in close proximity to porch areas and is well served via public transport offers the area particularity in terms of real estate values.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>• It is served well via public transport (S-2)</td>
<td>• This is complemented by the fact that the majority of the area is leased unlike other low income settlements in the city.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>• We do not have electricity load shedding (S-4)</td>
<td>• Another particularity is offered to the area by the fact that the locality has block and street numbers giving a sense of ownership and belonging to the residents.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>• Individual houses allow incremental development (S-1,2)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>• Majority of the area is leased (S-1,2)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>• Unlike other low income settlements in the city Generalabad has block number and street numbers. Sindh KatchiAbadis Authority made plans for the area (S-5)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>• The plot divisions are 80 square yards</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Adaptability</strong></td>
<td>• Individual houses allow incremental development (S-1,2)</td>
<td>• Individual houses allow the possibility of adaptability to increasing household sizes and accommodates more than one generation.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>• The weak controls also result in encroachment as the land given by Sindh KatchiAbadis Authority for girls community center has been encroached upon.</td>
<td>• The weak controls also result in adaptation of public spaces for purposes they are not meant for.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Patina</strong></td>
<td>• The church, the lumber yard, the railway line, Behbood Park, Government school and the mosque has been present here since the inception of this settlement (S-4)</td>
<td>• Certain landmarks have been present in the area and give the residents a sense of belonging and orientation.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Permeability</strong></td>
<td>• With the development of the beach in front of the settlement and the connection of the railway lines to the settlements across the beach Generalbad is bound to get effected (S-5)</td>
<td>• The proximity of the settlement to the porch localities and developed areas is also a threat as the builders and developers eye the locality for upscale development. The threat is increased by the permeability the settlement offers.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>• A high water fountain has been made in the beach in front of Generalabad which is supposed to be the highest in the region but how does that benefit the settlement. It’s a development for the foreigners and the rich and it doesn’t get us water, sewerage or electricity (S-5)</td>
<td>• The proximity to the beach offers another threat to the area.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>• Reclamation of the land on the beach affects us and so does the development of the China Port (S-5)</td>
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</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
| Economic Responsiveness | Adaptability | Possibility of housing economic facilities like tuition center, cottage industry, grocery shop within houses as government control regarding land use and regulation are weak or non-existent. (S-3,5) | The open area around the railway lines provides opportunities for different types of economic activities to spring up informally. The weak controls on the built form allow it to be adapted to household economic needs.  
Patina | The lumber yard has continued over time and is an important land mark. |
|------------------------|--------------|-------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|-------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|-------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| Social Responsiveness   | Authenticity | The area was developed on a self help basis in 1970s (S-1,2) Squatters were shifted here from porch localities (S-3) Others shifted here to obtain title of land (S-4) We are the initial residents of the area, previously it was a dump (S-1,2,3) Today the settlement has 80% leased houses and we wouldn’t live anywhere else because of this security of ownership (S-1) | Security of ownership is important for the residents. The residents pride in the fact that they are first residents of the area and have managed to get 80% of the houses leased.  
Particularity | We have a mix of many ethnicities living here peacefully, Christians, Pathans, Muhajirs, Hindus (S-1) | Residents pride in the fact that the locality has a mixed ethnicity living peacefully. |
|                        | Adaptability | We sit together in the evening on the sides of the railway track (S-4) Women of the community observe ‘pardah’ thus they stay indoors and socialize with other women within their households (S-1) The other place for socializing for men in the mosque (S-3) The community organization meets in the office, which is the ground floor of a residence (S-2) There is a park in the area but it is in a dilapidated condition thus no one goes there (S-2) Young children play in the streets in front of their houses whereas older kids play in the open land around the railway lines (S-4) | The open land around the railway track has been adapted for social purposes by elders and children. The streets have also been adapted for social and recreational purposes by children. This is possible because of the narrow streets and lack of vehicular traffic.  
|                        |             |  

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<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Research Questions</th>
<th>Interview No</th>
<th>Code</th>
<th>Specific Answer</th>
<th>Analysis</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1. What evidence is there that contemporary built form is locally responsive in the context of Karachi?</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>A</td>
<td>• As far as almost all informal development goes, where there are no controls, the form learns and accommodates activities. Even where there is formal development but no strong controls the buildings and built form learns to adapt and realize needs of people. The buildings do not learn- people learn.</td>
<td>There is a inversely proportional relationship between byelaws/ controls and adaptability of the built form. The stricter the zoning and regulation the less options for adaptability.</td>
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<td>• As a project the AI Azhar Housing scheme captures the essence of mohalla, street, communal sharing, and mixed class neighbourhoods, but it is a controlled development meant for a certain community. In terms of neighbourhoods I think the Muslimabad neighborhood is a good example where bungalows exists and respond to Karachiite life style.</td>
<td>Principles of mohalla, street, communal sharing, and mixed class neighbourhoods are taken as local.</td>
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<td></td>
<td>7</td>
<td></td>
<td>• Locally responsive built form is that responds to the needs of the client, the contextual profile and the active and passive user profile. It is important to understand who will be impacted by the built form. • Built form can work towards promoting a sense of affiliation. Public architecture can play an important role in bringing people together and can help revive a feeling of togetherness in a particular way.</td>
<td>Locally responsive built form is that responds to the needs of the client, the contextual profile and the active and passive user profile. It is important to understand who will be impacted by the built form.</td>
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<td>8</td>
<td></td>
<td>• There is no one definition. There is lot of disparity in Karachi in terms of financial disparity. Half the city lives in katchibadi (informal settlement). There is no concept of implementation of rules and growth in the peripheral areas doesn’t fall in either katchibadi category or developed area category. It is just land grabbing. There is global impact but it is limited to certain parts of the city that are more elite, like malls and shopping centers. In terms of housing people are on their own will. I think what impacts the design of a house is the social impact like the need for incremental housing. It is different in DHA/ Clifton where the social requirement is to show off their houses. Unless you have government applying rules/ regulations everyone is on their own. Ethnicity is important. For example housing structure for conservative societies is different. A new trend in Karachi is for ethnicities wanting to live together. • There is no data available for internal migration within the city. For the elite it is all global, the local contact is zero and more the middle class the financial and social constraints limit them. We did a study in Gulberg Town recently where single (level) structures were going double and triple (levels), as that was the social requirement, so it is easy to break laws here. • New development is outside the mandate of the government. Bahria Town, DHA Phase 9. In a lawless society where regulations are not updated (anything is possible). A city is divided by socio-economics, elite resulting in urban sprawl. • I think people in Lahore relate to their city. In Karachi half the population live like expatriates with their families settled in other cities. The migration in Lahore is not the same as in Karachi. The poor security situation worsens it. Conflicts between political party and lack of implementation of the projects intensifies the situation. All land transaction now takes place after office house under the table. All services are provided informally with the patronage of political parties. • New concepts of mixed use communities, compact cities, place making, smart neighbourhoods and resilient communities must be worked with. Major crises in Karachi is political. Private sector is willing to invest and we do not lack money and willingness but we need a new government paradigm. We need an autonomous body, currently 38% of land in city is controlled by Karachi Development Authority (KDA). We have a highly decentralized city. The informal sector, the private sector and the government are all working separately. It is a highly decentralized city without any shape or plan. Things just keep popping up.</td>
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<td>• I don’t think there is any such thing as Pakistani Architecture. There is certainly no definition. I also think we lack direction, generally because everyone has their own inspiration and understanding of the built form. We do see a similar language of the built form in Singapore, Thailand and India and to a certain degree in Lahore but that is mainly because of the use of bricks. Architect Shahid Abdullah tried to initiate a discussion in this direction some years ago where he thought we as architects should work together and develop a language for the built form of Karachi but we did not get very far with this discussion because everyone thought that as long as we design comfortable spaces style does not matter. I think it is good to have certain boundaries which can give some similarity to our architecture but the problem is who decides about these boundaries. What I don’t agree with however is where architects copy paste images from magazines and make White Houses and TajMahals. Everyone does have the right to experiment but then eventually they should find their niche.</td>
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<td>10</td>
<td></td>
<td>• So you think built form can have a sense of belonging? If so how? • Yes I think so. What ever you build you build nicely. I don’t think any place in Karachi should look like Times Square.</td>
<td></td>
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</tbody>
</table>
That is a different place. If Time Square has changed now. They have made it pedestrian and taken away the traffic from it. It is a square with cinemas, restaurants etc. Now they have made a Times Square in Shangai after bull dozing the old buildings. We need to create this awareness in our clients.

**12**
- Localness has two components. Two aspects of local- a) Indigenous vernacular where pace of development is slow and is of adaptive nature where external influences are absorbed and created as part of tradition. b) Cities and their aspiration to adopt a global image where rate of change has increased and there is no time for adapting, there is direct adoption of the imagery. This adoption is slithered through the local economy, culture and technology and what results is a ‘kitsh’ built form like the form of the marriage halls, some schools etc. In a mixed economy like ours influences are coming and seeking change but people don’t have economy to accept new technology. Then there are certain areas where change cannot happen. That is what we see in Karachi.

Local will have to be defined within a time period. It will have to be differentiated from traditional and also from international. I think an anthropologist approach can work where one selects an area and becomes part of that area and write a description about how the culture is changing, what are the factors, which new buildings are coming up. The change in the morphology will be described and then an analysis will be done to say what remains as tradition, what is global and what has emerged as local.

**14**
- Any architecture that responds to the context belongs to a place. I think anything that exists belongs. In Karachi we have attempted to define a local vocabulary recently. It is different for high architecture and for local architecture. The high architecture is taking more of a fair finished concrete direction. It is the response of a certain clientele. It is not responding to all the sectors of the society. And at times not responding to climatic needs and to historical background. The Pakistani family consists of 4-5 members on an average and the high end malls are expensive for their outreach. Even the visual scale does not connect to the street. It’s quite monumental. Thus the scale of the façade is more urban.

- There is a correlation in the housing sector however between the local and the global. The low income housing does not however respond to aesthetic concerns.

In your view does any built form in Karachi has a sense of belonging?
- I think a commercial building on a 200 square yards plot having mixed land use has a sense of belonging. Each floor houses 2 units for the middle class and the aesthetics trickle down through visuals from the forms for the elite. This represents Karachi well.

- It would be arrogant but I think most of my work fits that category. For example for most of the NED buildings I did, I don’t think anything else would have been more appropriate. The initial building was done in 2002 so it made the language for the campus. It responded to the immediate visuality. But I wouldn’t do those if I didn’t have the NED university as a client. If I had the student body as a client maybe there will be something else that would be appropriate. I wouldn’t think all the buildings are responding 100% to the users, but as a combination of the university (funders and HEC), faculty and the students. If you are responding to all of them its fine. In that sense they are very contextual. For the residential design, I have always thought they were appropriate because the people who live there were happy and full of joy and pride they live in the space. So for me if the people were happy then it’s a successful project.

**16**
- The prerequisite for becoming a member of Abad was to be involved in the housing industry only. Anyone involved in some other business could not be a member of Abad. This association was recognized by Karachi Development Authority and to become a member you had to pay a membership fee.

The Sindh Building control authority was created to regulate the construction business and every time a new building project was launched in order to get approvals from SBCO 5% of the total cost of the project had to be paid as security deposit. Abad asked for exemption from this security deposit and succeeded but as a result the membership process and fees for Abad increased and its process of membership became difficult.

Now Abad has been taken over by builders whose sole objective is to make profit and there is no quality maintenance of construction.

**18**
- How do you see the evolution of Mumbai in the hands of architects?
- I think architects have a very important role to play in the making of cities. They can either become myopic and blinker-eyed and worry about the site they are working on, or be more aware of what the implication of their work might be in the broader context. Unfortunately, in South Asian cities, it’s the former. Architects have become too site specific in their operations. What differentiates our approach the most is that we are working across a spectrum of issues in the city and thus by extension, we are working with many constituent groups in the city. Our clients are government, private, institutions students, NGOs etc. Our portfolio includes projects from addition to the museum to public toilets in the slums- sort of all over the place. I think this exposes us to a spectrum of issues in the city and in some way makes us more aware of broader problems even if we build on a specific site. This awareness, in my opinion, is important to make every gesture part of a larger scheme.

- For cities like Karachi and Mumbai, I believe urban design has to be about pluralism of skyline not about trying to make the city in a singular image- which is the Dubai and Shanghai model where impatent capital uses architecture as a single instrument to represent society. My talk at the Pakistan Urban Forum this year was about this. I showed in my lecture how festivals are also important in defining cities- in fact they are the spectacles by which we represent.

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- In a mixed economy like ours influences are coming and seeking change but people don’t have economy to accept new technology. Then there are certain areas where change cannot happen.

- Local will have to be defined within a time period. It will have to be differentiated from traditional and also from international. 1

- Built form should be , socially connected, economically connected, physically connected.

- Local is different for high end an local architecture

- Aesthetics trickle down from the forms of the elite.
ourselves in the public realm- not architecture solely. Festivals like the Ganesha Festival in Mumbai or Tazia in Ahmedabad and Surat- transform the city in a more dramatic way than the architecture of these cities. The image o the city is derived much more from what you could call the ‘Ephemeral Landscape’.

- What is the role of the architect in shaping urban architecture in India?
- Rahul Mahendra: Well it’s the same as it is in Pakistan. RatanBalb thrombo is a colleague from Mumbai who came with m to Karachi for the conference. His firm RJB just refurbished all of the marine drive. They’ve worked with huge infrastructure and public space development. AbhaNarain who was also at the conference has worked with historic cities and conservation, but these are to name a few. I think our cities have to be pluralistic and our work has to span all the way from concerns of large scale infrastructure and how that might be embedded seamlessly in the fabric of the city to reclaiming the fabric. The two are not separate- they are linked!

- The simultaneity of many realms and gestures is what makes South Asian cities so rich and exciting places for the architect to work in. I think architects have to realize that the only way we will improve the public realm is to engage with it. We have to learn to get out of that comfort zone of weekend homes for the rich where we fetishize the material, craft etc. and create architecture of indulgence. We must simultaneously engage with the public realm. While making precious pieces of architecture is important, however our involvement and influence cannot end there- we have to be ambitious.

- I think the three most pressing challenges have all to do with localizing architecture. The first is sharing a set of values with the patron and user. How can you be on the same side of the table and this comes only if you share the same values. The second has to do with how we can use local material, respond to local climates etc. This is common sense but often the hardest to pursue. And lastly, how we can bring the dimension of time to our imagination- whether it’s at the scale of the building or the city. We don’t, I believe, have the ability to design for transitions or even imagine things beyond an end state condition.

- What parallels do you see between Mumbai and other great cities of the world?
- I grew up largely in Mumbai so I know the city well. Mumbai, like all great cities in the world is unique. But I think it has and continues to grow with a series of incremental gestures. This is naturally its strength but also its weakness as it can never anticipate and plan for growth. Perhaps Karachi suffers from this too.

- In your view does architecture has a moral obligation towards society?
- Capitalism is a phenomenon that helps nurture the rich to get richer but also provides access of goods to the small guy. That is why it is popular. Rich are getting super rich and architecture is merely adjusting to the new needs of the society. It may morally not be very correct but that is the reality of our society today.

- The development in Dubai has been challenged by sociologists. Studies have been conducted on how ill treated the labor is in the Middle East, they live in trash to build the fancy high rises. There is the issue of morality here.

- Capitalism is one of the biggest elements driving the built form today. All elements of design have a global inclination especially with the advent of the World Trade Organization (WTO). I am anti WTO as the objective of WTO is for the third world to serve as labor for the first world with the first world being the ultimate beneficiary. The third world just gets enough to eat and stay alive. If this balance is altered capitalism will start to fail. I have written and presented papers on this issue at architectural conferences like SAARC.

- As an architect gains experience his confidence increases, he becomes more creative, and learns better utilization of tools. If he practices what is good for society the effects will eventually trickle down. I now think on the level of an individual building. I think about the general good for the society. Though he may not be directly involved with a certain group of people in the society but the impact will be there.

- In this era capitalism is power. Architecture responds to the Every aspect of personal life gets affected by it. Society also advocates constraint at certain levels. As an architect I get a reaction to everything I design, it is a challenge whether I question the reaction or eel to it. It depends on a professional how to take crises to his advantage. For instance many people become billionaires in wars- that is because they have learnt to take advantage of a crises situation.

- Do you think built form has a sense of belonging?
- This is a good question. I think sense of belonging comes with a sense of ownership. It depends on how much you own the place. Lahoreis are proud of their city. People in Karachi are mostly in transit. The Metropolitan theory works for Karachi, it has always been a city for migrants. Karachi accommodates a lot of people and it is mostly commercial accommodation. The money people earn from the city does not get invested back in the city, they send it to their towns or villages in other parts of the country. On the contrary when you own a city you give it back but unfortunately that is not the case for Karachi.

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2. What design values influence decisions taken in the construction of built form in the contemporary context of Karachi and how do these decisions address the concept of localness?

1. B

- Nabeel Iqbal talks about this in his book "Small change" and according to him the zoning byelaws are mostly anti street, anti pedestrian, anti mixed land use, anti dissolve space. They are anti everything that makes life worth living.
- The architect today, unlike yesterday, has five clients-the architect had two clients, the state and the elite. Today the clients are- the reeding state, the expanding corporate sector, middle class served by developers, the poor and the elite. The elite is also different. Its not the elite, its simply rich people. Now the elite, which are rich people, they determine what they want. So there is a whole range of architecture for the elite depend on the image that they want to project of themselves. Then you have the middle class, the developers serve them. They cater to the taste of the middle class in most cases and they are restricted aby the amount the middle class can borrow. The corporate sector has an image- glass and aluminum and the poor’s architecture is determined by what is cheap to build and can be done incrementally over time. These are the realities of architecture practice in our times. Now as far as the reeding state is concerned its architecture is determined very much by the politics of the region.
- Many factors go into the making of a city. One of the major factors is the training of the architects. How are they trained? One of the biggest hindrances in this training for the production of good architecture is the lack of confidence in innovating.

2. When we work in the context of Karachi the first thing that matters to us is the nature of the project

- We are doing a very large development called Naya Nazimabad. Naya Nazimabad is a housing development which has its own drivers. It is driven by aspects of security in Karachi for lower middle and middle class residents. There is also absence of urban infrastructure thus provision of the infrastructure becomes another aspects of the design. We got to design for water and sanitation and create public parks within the development thus the set of drivers change in this scenario. Understanding the socio setups of the households also becomes important. It is vital to comprehend if the families occupying the houses would be nuclear families or joint families and will they have shared household incomes. I guess where we are in the city and the nature of people who will be occupying the built form are important drivers dictating our decisions. For instance we did the Allah wala Township some years ago and another project called Al Azhar Gardens. They were in different parts of the city and had different clientele. We dealt with that. In residential architecture aspects of culture start playing an important role, that is the history of the people for whom we are designing. Both culture and context needs to be taken in a very contemporary way. Aspects of culture gives a strong footing as it continues from one generation to other but there are also aspects of culture which evolve with time. We need to be aware of those aspects as well.
- Interestingly by enclosing the housing schemes within a boundary wall you get disconnected by the immediate fabric but this is only on the ground floor level. When you rise to the level above you have a visual connection with the context, you could be right across a hill or a nulla (sewage drain) yet the edge of the wall gives you a level a disconnect. So the challenge is how do you work the relationship out with the context?

3. All the land owning authorities like KPT, KDA and cantonment boards today have freedom to take decisions about land within their jurisdiction although by policy as stated in all Master plans the decisions taken by these authorities should comply with the larger Master plan for the city but in reality it doesn’t work that way. An objection was raised if any intervention by these authorities was not in compliance with the larger master plan. This has happened because of non existence of a planning authority for the city. The MPGO has been merged back into KDA. The post of the EDO master plan has been replaced by Senior Director Master Plan. The Karachi building and Control Authority (KBCA) byelaws of 2002 outline the various land control authorities within Karachi and date of approvals of various housing schemes. When a scheme is completely developed the development authority cannot keep the scheme under their control as they cannot levy a tax on it. The Municipal Corporation or cantonment boards have the authority to levy taxes as they maintain the localities and provide municipal services. KDA completes the schemes and transfers them to civic bodies like KMC and Cantonment boards. In the devolution plan all the functions came under CDGK.
- Previously any changes in land uses and density had to comply with the city’s Master Plan and the Karachi Building and Town Planning Act of 2002. There were specific rules with regards to changes in land uses and it was not an easy task to undertake. There were technical committees made in the times of Late Mr. Kausar Bashir Ahmed and Mr. Kaleem Siddiqui, Chairman of Pakistan Council of Architect and Planners (PCATP). The task of the technical committee was to look at each rule one by one and over a period of six month present recommendations for any changes. Representatives of PCATP and Association of Builders and Developers (ABAD) and other professionals were part of the committee. The recommendations were submitted to the government which was followed by public hearing. Revisions were made accordingly and the concerns raised in the public hearing were incorporated in the recommendations. Then the notification was issued by the law department. Today instead of following a similar procedure decisions are taken at the will of politicians. There are no restrictions on the builder. The builders approach the chief controller of building personally and through granting them favors get a office order passed for the construction of buildings. It has become a very closed system of decision making without any consultation. Although as per policy no officer is allowed to give permission for change in land use or for the construction of any building which does not comply with the Karachi Building and Town Planning Regulations without proper notification. As per policy decisions about the built form are largely dependent on who the client is.
- Decisions are also dependent on the education of the architect.

- Absence of a centralized decision making body in Karachi allows different land owning authorities to take decision about development at their free will.
- No obligation for any changes in the land uses to comply with city’s master plan and adhere to KBTP Act of 2004.
a professional body needs to be notified for any changes, it needs to examine the notification and feedback needs to be taken from stakeholders.

- All government bodies, be it Karachi Metropolitan Corporation (KMC) or Karachi Water and Sewerage Board (KWSB) have a political overtone. Public representation also carries weightage and has an influence on the decision making process. There are three types of public representations:
  1. Councilors representing small areas and the common man
  2. Members of the provincial assembly
  3. Members of the national assembly

In an ideal situation the decision is processed through majority. Technical representation is in the form of engineers, planners and architects. The informal sector gets represented through NGOs and different public forums. The government does not have the capacity to address their issues but the NGOs do a good job in motivating them and encouraging community participation. When I was the director of Karachi Slum improvement programme in 1988 we developed a memorandum for understanding between Orangi Pilot Project (OPP) and Karachi Metropolitan corporation (KMC). The informal sector got represented through various public forums.

- The process of out sourcing is definitely better than doing everything in house as because of competition there is room for improvement and greater efficiency. But outsourcing everything can create monopoly thus certain tasks of creating checks and balances need to be retained by the government. Public-private partnership is a better option but it requires strong mechanism of coordination.

- Master planning is carried out on three scales- one plan is a larger plan which looks at the entire city, the other is a neighborhood plan which looks at individual neighbourhoods or blocks and the third plan is a services based plan which develops mechanisms of coordination of the infrastructure and services in a neighborhood with the larger master plan. So yes there is a direct relationship between the overall master plan of the city and the infra structure plan.

- We try and address issues that are important- light, views and privacy. My experience of doing projects in Mexico before I decided to come back to Pakistan helped me understand the dynamics of a residence. I found similar issues in addressing the design of residences in Karachi. The idea of having free flowing spaces within the limitation of room to room design and the requirement for air conditioning. Clients now a days are not willing to give up any luxury and don't want any discomfort thus they require every room to have air conditioning.

- To address the issues of climate our firm has developed three concepts for houses 1) Roof gardens which acts as insulation and help keep the temperatures down 2) Thick double walls with calculated openings which provide further insulation 3) Chattris for houses or double roofing system which helps bring down the temperatures further.

- We have used the concept of the courtyard in houses and in buildings.

- We believe in achieving a synthesis between different ingredients and resolve as many issues as possible in the process. The underlying factor worth considering is a fresh way to approach every design and be innovative. For instance when designing housing we address the real requirements in terms of climate and culture. We are in the process of designing housing project for a community where we have given vertical courtyards where people can socialize and the very concept allows the building to breathe naturally. The communal spaces at various levels try and create a connection with the ground.

- When approaching a design project I always tell my students to ask three questions, when, where and what. When is the era that the project is being designed in, where is the site, the context, environment and people and what does the project want to be?

- It is important to understand who takes the decision about the built form. It is mostly the politicians and builders. Ordinary Karachiites in my view are not interested. Maybe the entire political regime does not support it either. It would be best to take a survey and determine that. For me it is more of a decision of a few business men and developers. Thus the resultant outcome is very exclusive of the common man. I find the Dolmen Mall in Clifton very exclusive as it is just a mall with no supporting market type development which works better in our context. I think the Dolmen Mall on Tariq Road is more exclusive that way because it has a market attached to it.

- Not to do with Karachi having an image- more about their petty interests. No grand designs- for KSDP Dubai was a model. Karachi is loosing its identify. All development not basically based on use of land as a means of providing social good. Its based on how much money you can get out of it or how can you control land.

- Different waves of migration continues. This causes huge influx into Karachi. Lot of people not coming from urban backgrounds, people settling in the peripheral areas. There are constraints in terms of infrastructure. There is no common course (of development), there is a hotchpotch. No common identify. Worst affected is the architecture of the city. Architecture façade Karachi is destroyed (as a result).

- Karachi is basically a cosmopolitan city with an economic base. The services sector is (still) there like banks but the industry has gone away because of violence. There is a change in demographics with people from non urban backgrounds and a rural setup.

- Karachi has become a city where the writ of the government has disappeared- power brokers rule- impact is there is no meaning to rules

- An ideal decision making process incorporating the public voice.

- Outsourcing as a better option as because of competition there is room for improvement and greater efficiency. But outsourcing everything can create monopoly thus certain tasks of creating checks and balances need to be retained by the government. Public-private partnership is a better option but it requires strong mechanism of coordination.

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| 10   | - How does the politicians and government officials ideas about the built form affect your design process?  
- They want to make a Dubai and I think Dubai is a horrible city. The towers are images of Houston and Dallas have no meaning for me. Karachi is a sprawling city and we have land. Yes ok we have to have to go vertical but not like Hong Kong where there are 40 story apartment buildings. They have a horrible living standard, in human and living in little cuby holes. Dubai has money and all but the city has no life as such. Look at our abadis where we have ground plus four buildings. People are happy living there. The glass image is for the millionaires. Poor people don’t live there.  
- There is no need of air overhangs and we don’t require air conditionin  
- d courtyards which kept the mosquitoes away.  
- g. We only have air and they are suspended up there without any open land. If you look at the cityscape of Hong Kong and other Chinese cities like Shanghai they have demolished their old cities and have erected 40 story towers there.  
- It is very simple. I see each project differently, big or small in scale. I cant say I am not in favour of tall buildings but it needs to be justified. We cant erect a tall apartment building in Malir for instance. Who is going to live there? Tall buildings are for the rich with air-conditioning, lifts and other facilities. You see lot of these buildings along the Clifton Beach, to me they are vertical slums. They have been built very badly. These flats built don’t have any consideration for washing and drying clothes although that is something a designer should give priority too. In other places there are strict laws like hanging laundry outside is not allowed.  
- I take a project on its own merit. I question myself when I am doing any work. I ask about the shape, the land and if I have taken care of the climatic conditions. If you see my buildings they have a form. I love working with forms but the form should have a function.  
- I believe in my own forms and create my own forms. Every architect creates their own vocabulary, look at the work of Zaha Hadid, Foster, Ando. They create their own vocabulary. If you like their vocabulary you go to that architect and then it is up to the architect to educate a client if he comes with some crazy ideas like for instance asking for a pagoda roof.  
- Firstly it is important for me to understand what the client wants. If the client is happy then your work is done. The economy and materials are secondly important and the time spent on the project. We work with load bearing structures. It is 30% cheaper than the column and beam structure. I invent a lot of time in research. This house for instance has been designed on four columns and has a square plan juxtaposed with a diamond shape. The overlap provides deep overhangs and we don’t require air conditioning. We only have air-conditioning in the bedroom. The overlap also acts as a wind catcher. Karachi has the sea and 6 hours of tides with a breeze. We should try and capture that.  
- We can learn from the old houses with wind catchers. They also used mud plaster which kept the mosquitoes away. The same adobe plaster is used in biogas technology today. We must go for advanced technology only for the economy and functional requirements and not for the sake of it.  
- If we assume that if the global influence is not there, the space will remain traditional and not local. Globalness becomes a determinant of the local construct. The actors become important- the decision makers, people who transform decisions into actions and people who use the space and may add to the quality of space. This process results in the local construct. The who/ how and the what becomes important. It is important to identify the indicators that help transform tradition to global and thus create local. The indicators need to be identified strategically. The timeline becomes important because what is local today may not be local tomorrow.  
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- The problem with us is that we lack political commitment for implementation of projects. We should work with what is called Public Advocacy Planning. Public involvement is the basic ingredient and public should dictate the planning. Plans should be published and public opinion should be taken and public is the best judge. We have all the procedures defined but we lack implementation.  
- The problem with us is that we lack political commitment for implementation of projects. We should work with what is called Public Advocacy Planning. Public involvement is the basic ingredient and public should dictate the planning.  
- For locally responsive architecture climate is important. Its simply about wind and sun. Wind catchers and courtyards don’t work in our context. We have a new climate condition dependent on the air conditioners which we should accept. I think of the Aga Khan Hospital as an example where the out door spaces are courtyards with shaded trees and the indoor spaces are all artificially ventilated. The courtyard then becomes a visual space.  
- Karachi is a sprawling city and we have land thus no need to go vertical.  
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| 15   | According to the international standards the theoretical process of planning to be followed involves stakeholder and bureaucracy participation. Then comes the socio-economic surveys and white publicity where people are called in to comment openly on the proposals. This process is not adopted in our context. Public opinion is not involved, Representation by institutions and other kinds of representation is also limited. 
- To obtain legal cover for his plan because of which his execution was not as successful as he would have wanted it to be. As per policy no development could happen without obtaining NOC from Master Plan department. Execution authorities have become weak to weaker over time, and corrupt to corrupt. All amenity plots have been encroached upon and are either under litigation or a usage which is not prescribed for it. Coordination between execution and planning agency is necessary. No deviation from the Master Plan should be allowed. Any deviation should be justified.  
- Public opinion is not involved. 
- As per policy no development could happen without obtaining NOC from Master Plan department. Execution authorities have become weak to weaker over time, and corrupt to corrupt. Coordination between execution and planning agency is necessary.  
- There has been a change in the mindset of the government and although the government has immense power but they are not pro poor anymore. The city has sprawled with land mafia within the city limits encroaching upon amenity plots of masjid and parks. This effects the social structure. |
| 16   |  
- There was a bulk movement of people after partition. Land was unlimited. Initially the government was pro people. There was a brotherly feeling and mass housing was made. Quarters were developed for government servants Pakistan Quarters, Jehangir Quarters, Martin Quarters, Clayton Quarters. Jacob Lines and Lines Area were barracks converted into temporary housing for the refugees and later these became low income areas. The houses had a temporary nature with load bearing walls and tile sheet. 
- In terms of socio economics, everyone was in a different boat but there was a social obligation which people felt. In terms of sociology people felt that when you help someone both you and him are related. With the impact of materialism peace in the society was lost. 
- Eventually many master places were developed for Karachi. Karachi Development Authority (KDA) developed 45 schemes. KDA started working as a no profit no loss organization. To bear the cost of development they auctioned commercial plots. In Gulshan in 1966 the price of land was Rs.14 per yard of residential plot and Rs 20 per yard of commercial plot. At that time there were more plots and less applicants. At that time people of any income bracket could get a loan. House Building Finance Corporation was also willing to give a loan up to Rs. 40,000. 
- Eventually the government failed to compete with the growing population and katchiabadis sprung up. In Karachi there are about 45 katchiabadis. KDA was also eventually closed. 
- Housing like all other services has gone in the informal sector. There has been a change in the mindset of the government and although the government has immense power but they are not pro poor anymore. The city has sprawled with land mafia within the city limits encroaching upon amenity plots of masjid and parks. This effects the social structure. |
| 17   |  
- How are the planning decisions taken about the built form in Karachi? 
- As you must be aware we have had many master plans. The general development of the city follows the guidelines put forth in these master plans. The problem with initial master plans of the city was that the authorities did not get legal cover for them. Thus the implementation became weak although the guidelines were followed. 
- In 2001 the devolution plan was implemented and for the first time a third tier was created in the government- the tier of the city government. The 2020 Karachi Strategic Development Plan (KSDP) was based on the evaluation of the previous master plans. A land use survey was done and a socio-economic survey comprising of 0.05% of the population was carried out. 
- What is the reason for outsourcing the KSDP 2020? 
- It is basically lack of capacity of the government departments. Karachi Development Authority has had no appointments for early 25 years now. The people who had the capacity to develop master plans have either retired or left. Even previously when the plans were being developed in house we were working in collaboration with foreign consultants. I also believe the culture of private organizations is more efficient thus outsourcing ensures delivery on time. But our resources got attached to the KSDP as counterparts.  
- What is the process of ensuring stakeholder participation in the planning exercise? 
- For the KSDP 2020 we put together a technical committee made of 12 heads representing each sector, like transport, sewerage, water, urban design etc. Technical committees met regularly thus in this way stakeholder input was ensured. The draft master plan was presented before the committees and revisions were made as per stakeholder input. 
- The Asian Development Bank was engaged as an expert group and they reviewed and gave feedback on the plan. The plan presented strategies for every sector aimed towards integrated development for the city. 
- In 2007 the plan was taken to the city council to get feedback at grass root levels. The suggestions of the city council were also incorporated in the plan. This plan also has a legal cover. 
- A extensive questionnaire of 60 questions was put together in the socio-economic survey and an analysis of the feedback was included in the KSDP 2020. 
- How abiding is this legal cover for the areas that are not under direct jurisdiction of KDA? 
- Karachi spreads over 3600 square kilometers. The city district government of Karachi only controls 31% of this land. Although the legal binding of the KSDP plan asks for the rest of the authorizes operating in the city to abide by the KSDP 2020 but in practice it does not happen that way. 
- Karachi has spread tremendously over the past few years. Why does the KSDP support the sprawl of the city? 
- We have a combination of strategies in the KSDP 2020. There are six strategies in all depending on the density of the area and requirements of densification. These strategies range from densification, densification and infill, infill and...
expansion and status quo.
- What is the vision for Karachi in KSDP 2020?
- The vision and the strategy, as described in the foregoing chapters, anticipate a range of spatial changes, as the Karachi’s population grows (15.2 million in 2005 to 27.55 million by 2020), and the metropolitan economy gains momentum, along with sizeable growth in commercial and industrial activity. The spatial needs for commerce, industry, housing and infrastructure development will be provided through a set of policies and programs. Landuses are complicated and enforcement is weak in Karachi. Commercial activity is developing fast as the city is growing. Change is landuse has been allowed in certain corridors of the city, initially there were 18 roads that were allowed a change in FAR and landuse now these have gone up to 24 roads. These roads need to fit the condition of being 100 feet wide.
- How did the KSDP 2020 respond to the ecology of the regional context of Karachi?
- I am sorry I cant answer that question.
- Can you explain the relationship between KDA and the different government bodies responsible for the built form of Karachi?
- KDA is responsible for planning for the city and issuing NOC on KDA and KMC land. Previously we had an engineering and transport cell as well which was responsible for preparing transportation plans for the city. In early 1980s the Mass transit cell was created to conduct the Mass transit study with the help of JICA. This has now become an independent cell but works in close coordination with KDA and relies on the master plans or strategic plans we produce.
- Then there was the Karachi Building Control Authority, which has now become Sindh Building Control Authority. It is responsible to ensure building standards and that the new buildings are following byelaws. But as mentioned previously KDA only has 31% of the land of the city under its control.

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- I studied in Ahmedabad, a city that had a particular architectural culture. The city has buildings by Corbusier and Louis Kahn and also beautiful traditional Islamic architecture. I was very inspired by the coexistence of a deep tradition and modern architecture- this had a deep effect on my thinking about the field. Ahmedabad also had fantastic and seminal examples of architecture by the first generation of post independence architects like Correa and Doshi. And this showed us how they took Modernism and synthesized it with tradition. Then I did my thesis on this architect Claude Batley who was a British architect based in Bombay, just before independence. He used to be the principal of the JJ School of Art and documented a lot of traditional architecture as well as built extensively.
- There is not much written on him, my thesis is perhaps the only document on him. I saw his work as making a bridge between the academia, research, teaching and practice. He was doing very different kind of things simultaneously, which was inspiring for me. I don’t think it was great architecture, but the spirit of that man inspired me a lot. Again this combination of teaching, research and active proactivistic was an idea that appealed to me immensely. I learned from Claude Batley that we need to be idealistic- learn from people as how to translate your idealism into reality. It is not utopia; it is what makes the world better.
- What is the meaning of architecture for you?
- Architecture for me is about place-making. Making places we can inhabit in a comfortable way that not only takes care of our needs for shelter but also helps us with expressing our aspirations and beliefs. We cannot be so pragmatic that it’s only about shelter because expression is important for human beings. How we can create a balance between these two aspects is very important. Every society uses architecture to express its aspirations, whether it is commercial gin or some other form of idealism. Dubai is about commercialism, our ancient cities are all about idealism or sometimes about power representation. Good architecture is one that does both, one that has symbolic aspirational content in its expression but also meets pragmatic needs in a sensible and efficient manner.
- What are the main determinants in the design process for you?
- For me the main determinant in a design project is making it people centric, climate is crucial, the question of weathering is very important. Nowadays we are more interested in weather proofing, not how buildings age. But finally it’s about how buildings age. I photograph my buildings when they are built and looking at them much more after the years have passed.
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whatever shape.

- Bigger the population more business a city gets.

- From the eye of an urban planner, your work speaks more about the intangible (spirit) aspect of cities and their metamorphosis, whereas urban planning more or less talks about the physical, economic and social aspect.

- Rahul Mehrotra: In my work, I began noticing that in places like Mumbai the city worked not because of the architecture but because of how people used space and often occupied it temporarily. This sense of elasticity in space and also the incremental ways in which it was being appropriated interested me. I guess I was working in Mumbai that made me aware of the importance of temporal parameters in the way a city is occupied, used and made to function.

- The importance of temporal parameters: I began noticing that in places like Mumbai the city worked not because of the architecture but because of how people used space and often occupied it temporarily. This sense of elasticity in space and also the incremental ways in which it was being appropriated interested me.

- In practice, we mostly forget the customer, the owner, the consumer of the spaces. This is reflected through our rendered drawings, which are devoid of the human figure. The influence of the owner on a project in reality is too enormous to be ignored. This issue is not tackled in our conferences, workshops etc. For instance, I had admired the work of a Singaporean Architect for a long time, TayKheng Soonwho graduated from MIT. I had been impressed by his mathematical models that he develops for architecture. But when I had the opportunity to see his work in reality they lacked the richness of his theory. It was then that I realized the long distance that exists between design and practice and the influence the client has on any project. Besides the client there are many other factors that can influence a project, these must be considered in the design phase to avoid any shocks at later stages.

- The owner/client should be taken into confidence with regards to the conception of the design project. The influence of the owner/client is greater in the developing nations, as architects are hand to mouth and they give in easily to the requirements of the client, which are often absurd. In the professional life of an architect there are very few projects in which an architect has a free hand to do whatever he desires. Most architects go through this.

- For different typologies of built forms, like a house or a public building, different principles apply. In a public building it is important to address issues like how to move people from one place to another etc. but if the owner or his representative starts intervening they start exerting unnecessary pressures. In a public building the architect needs to direct the movement of the people and make them feel the change in the spaces.

- The present day culture of how life works is very important. We have a culture where built form is surrounded by gates, high boundary walls and all sorts of enclosures thus the architecture responds to that. Society impacts strongly on architecture, we have grills on our windows, c.c. TV cameras installed etc. The shear concept of how do we protect ourselves rides our architecture. The influence of the owner on a project in reality is too enormous to be ignored.

- Now a newer emergent typology in Karachi is the housing schemes which have commercial spaces catering to the entire city. The scale of these housing schemes has gone much larger because of a new economic setup.

- Another change in the built form will be seen because of the security issues in Karachi. Communities that have resided in old localities of the city are either voluntarily moving out or are being forced to evacuate because of security concerns. These areas will be occupied by another community which will not have similar emotional attachments with the area and will eventually either replace it with new built form or will sell it off and move on.

- Previously architects would design a single project at a time. Now a newer emergent typology in Karachi is the housing schemes which have commercial spaces catering to the entire city. The scale of these housing schemes has gone much larger because of a new economic setup.

- The importance of temporal parameters: I began noticing that in places like Mumbai the city worked not because of the architecture but because of how people used space and often occupied it temporarily. This sense of elasticity in space and also the incremental ways in which it was being appropriated interested me.

- I think the built form does not respond to local economy. It responds to the builder and elite community. No one is planning for the common people. There are some initiatives in the private sector like the Indus Hospital, some NGOs and emergency response service. The government is not seen anywhere, which is not bad but needs to have control.

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- The present day culture of how life works is very important. We have a culture of cordoning off streets for security reasons. We have a culture where built form is surrounded by gates, high boundary walls and all sorts of enclosures thus the architecture responds to that. Society impacts strongly on architecture, we have grills on our windows, c.c. TV cameras installed etc. The shear concept of how do we protect ourselves rides our architecture. The influence of the owner on a project in reality is too enormous to be ignored.

- Migration is also an essential feature of this economic development. Migration only means shifting of population. Economic development is directly proportional to population growth as it results in the supply of labor. This is the classic economic approach. Something else is also happening. There is political wars, natural disasters and other conflicts which result in the shifting of the population. In every other city you see other things happening which result in rural-urban or other types of migrations. The implications of the change in economics and the resulting migration is the change in demographics. The shifting of the population is a direct result of economic development of a city.
capital of Sindh from Hyderabad to Karachi is an example. With the shifting of the path of the Indus River, the capital cities have shifted, from Hyderabad, to Thatta to Karachi. Thus it is not just political scenarios that result in migration of people it can also be natural disasters and changes in landscapes. The mercantile communities shift with the shifting of the capital taking the economy with them. The elite settle and construct landmarks. When the Hindus came to Karachi they made their houses on the citadel, enclosed it within walls, close to the port. The working class lived outside the walled area, in Lyari to be specific. Within the walled city only a particular type and class of people were allowed to live. Similarly when the British came to the sub continent they demarcated for them a protected area within each capital city and called it the cantonment. This was away from the settlement of the natives. Lyari was made on marsh lands. These were the people who made the city and the city made them. For all the settlers of the city the interest was the port, transportation, services and industries. Till today these are the interests of the people municipal services were developed. In the 1920s Karachi underwent major infrastructure development. Old areas were regularized with the exception of a few areas. The Karachi metropolitan Cooperation was formed. This model of urban development was introduced in the sub continent by the British and is still followed today.

The municipality was elite driven. The concept was based on keeping the city clean.

1. As an economist how do you see the built form of the city today?
HarisGazdar: The public sector is very weak. Previously the State used to establish property rights. Now there are many enclaves within the city which are inhabited by elite and run by private developers with the state having no role. The issue is regularization vs. regulation everywhere.

The only option is stronger enforcement. Planning is not enough. Planning paradigms which are space centric will not work. As an economist I don’t see a shortage of housing, there is a free market, and any body can access it according to their monetary strength. There are no queues for housing. There is a demand and there is supply. But the government does not any longer have a commitment to social housing.

2. Interestingly, vernacular in an urban setting like Karachi is a bit of a misfit. We can have a huge debate on this. Look at the vernacular of Karachi- we can take it in many ways. Some might say that the sloping roof tiles on Colonial Bungalow from Mumbai, South India are the vernacular of Karachi- but are they really vernacular because they were imported from another region? Yes there is the yellow stone in Karachi which still plays a predominant role in the built form but other than that when a city like Karachi explodes the big question arises as to what vernacular remains relevant? Karachi is changing continuously as compared to a city like London or the rural areas where a certain built form vocabulary is retained but in Karachi everyone is trying to re invent the wheel. What wheel do you follow? The key drivers are construction economics. When a client comes to you and says I want my thing to be done in a certain way because this option will be the cheapest and if I tell them to use stone the client will not budge. In some Asian cities I am not too sure how much of vernacular plays a role but yes culture and living patterns influence decisions. For inhabited by elite and run by private developers with the state having no role. The issue is regularization vs. regulation everywhere.

- The only option is stronger enforcement. Planning is not enough. Planning paradigms which are space centric will not work.

Relationship between creating a local neighborhood design within the global restrictions of zoning and byelaws
- Professionals set the aesthetic language for the built form in the city although they may not be directly involved in the designing of the majority of the built form.

3. How do professionals define the local vs. global areas within their city?

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<td>I cant negate the building by laws, I will follow them. So within those building by laws I will try and create groups, neighbourhoods. I would lay the infra structure in a manner that each neighborhood was independent and could manage its own infrastructure. I would plan around a primary school with the neighborhood around it. The size of the neighborhood would be such that the students could walk to the primary school. I would segregate vehicular and pedestrian traffic, eliminate cross roads and create cul de sacs. All this would be done staying within the by laws and regulations.</td>
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<td>If there were no building by laws and regulations I would plan differently. I would have less open spaces, higher densities transform the streets as public space and mixed land uses.</td>
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<td>Vernacular architecture has thick walls, heavy roofs, walls consume a lot of space and material. In a 60 square yard plot it would be a disaster. It would not work. After years of practice and dabbling with earth architecture I firmly believe that very light weight concrete blocks which have good thermal value are the best solution.</td>
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<td>they have a very big influence through what they produce</td>
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<td>I am increasingly in favor of ground plus three floors and increasingly in favor of light weight steel structure. The problem is how you introduce that into low income contracting system. We introduced the concrete beams etc in orange and I was quite successful in doing that we changed the nature of construction. But what we introduced was not seismic proof and was heavy. Now we are experimenting with this light weight concrete block, light weight steel and commercial ply for flooring. We are trying to see weather this will work. The aesthetics are determined by the building materials you introduce and the way you use them. I don’t think vernacular in a low income settlement offers you an option. If you like you can take some symbols from it- some balustrades etc.- that’s another thing.</td>
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<td>I wouldn’t say, I don’t believe in this whole issue of identity. Its not my concern. My concern is can you have climatically suitable architecture which is affordable to this country and is not vulgar and loud. That is about all. And I don’t care what it looks like as long as it fulfills these requirements. If I was to limit myself to a style or a particular thinking of aesthetics I would be negating the world I live in. Climatically suitable and rational. Why restrict yourself in such a big world. That is why HsianFathay’s village never got replicated. I don’t think the city should look all alike. I don’t have any problems with the Pompidou museum not the pyramid in the Louvre. Style in this world where there are all kind of influences exists, it becomes secondary. I believe in a global world minus its exploitative aspects.</td>
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example we have jalis (screens) and balconies in our building context and I really believe that we were the first design firm to re-use the idea in current architecture after sixty to seventy years in Al-Azhar Housing complex. We realized that we value our privacy as a nation which is evident by the fact that one never sees people using terraces of a house which opens on the streets, even men feel uncomfortable using them. We want to be screened and that’s why we hide behind boundary walls, courtyards and screens. I am not too sure whether that is vernacular or its culture. It’s a way of life and you got to respect that.

- Something that comes to my mind is temporary, moving, passing by. Here you recognize, in a very soft way I guess, that you are not here to stay but are in a state of transit because the built environment is constantly evolving and changing. My grandparents lived in rural Malir and today when I go there I cannot recognize anything. This is very disconcerting and disheartening because one loose’s the environment and landmarks over time.

3

Karachi has a lot of hinterland and it doesn’t make sense to increase the city’s density. There have been many studies which prove that the more distant you are from the city center and the more negative psychological effects people have. In cities which have good building controls - open land is provided on the ground in a proportionate ratio with the built form. Our builders don’t provide adequate parking, proper lifts and at times there is lack of adequate ventilation in the built form. The spacing between the building blocks is not proper. There are issues of privacy because of poor design. It becomes difficult to see children playing on the ground.

- Any city should not be allowed to expand as much as Karachi has expanded. This is against the planning principles and as per our religion as well. Our religion also tells us that we should establish new cities when the population goes beyond a certain number. Karachi’s advantage in terms of land has become its disadvantage. Because Karachi had government owned land in its hinterland encroachment happened on a big scale. Initially encroachment happens in the name of informal settlements, squatter settlements etc. The official records of land revenue department are also burnt.

- It is not easy to manage such a big city. We need a very efficient system of control. Since the land is freely available and the checks and balances are weak thus encroachment happens. There needs to be a law enforcement agency. Citizens cannot protect the government land from being encroached. The land grabber mafia is a big reason for insecurity in the city. A neutral overseeing committee which neither belongs to any political party or has particular interests needs to be established.

4

Our development in the field of architecture has been slow. We have not been able to consolidate our ideas to develop an identity for the built form of the city. There are a number of reasons for this. Firstly I believe we have not been able to educate our clients. Our clients are heavily influenced by the formalistic development in Dubai. What they fail to understand is that Dubai is very different from us culturally and environmentally. Secondly as we struggle to find a language for architecture we are not consistent with any particular paradigm. For instance in the early years after independence we were influenced by modernist thinking and applied the solutions modern paradigm offered indiscriminately across all forms of built structures but eventually we realized that it was not the solution for all the evils. Thirdly we haven’t had any international architect come and practice in our part of the world like India and Bangladesh where presence of works of Le Corbusier and Louis Kahn have given the local architects an opportunity to learn from and develop further the language of the built form. Lastly, we are heavily influenced by the western image of the built form and are unaware of how to address local context.

- I think the vernacular architecture of our context is the most green form of architecture. Doing sustainable architecture is not only ecological but also a neutralizing agent which helps us in achieving a better quality of life.

5

The lessons cannot be localized today because of a number of reasons including

- Material
- Masons
- Lack of understanding with materials
- Lack of expertise and change in query
- Change in population influx
- High rise construction
- Change in planning because of change in contemporary needs like extinction of courtyards and advent of attached bathrooms
- Emergence of new marketing tactics- image glamorous life style rather than a sense of ownership

- In older areas of Karachi the sense of ownership is not there because the people who came and settled in older parts were economically unstable and did not have the liberty to maintain and renovate the buildings they occupied thus they became neglected over time. There is also a sharp contrast seen between the areas of Lyari (the area where the city of Karachi originated) and the areas which were occupied by the Memon and Ismaili migrants in Kharadar. The areas of Lyari did not improve formalistically and did not have any stone structure within it as compared to the area of Kharadar which was had mostly stone structures.

- The structures serve as reminders and are worthy of preservation. It not only reflects the physical development but also speaks of the cultural development in terms of courtyards, response to climate and respect for privacy. In this light our current byelaws can be objected upon because they are based on an extroverted built form with the

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- We have not been able to consolidate our ideas to develop an identity for the built form of the city. There are a number of reasons for this; lack of client education, struggle to find a language, no international architect practiced here, influenced by western ideas and unaware how to address local context.

6

Global is more of an image we are after, a ‘Dubai’ type image. It is not sustainable. There is lack of infrastructure and carrying capacity to accommodate this type of high rise development. I think a small number of people benefit from it.
### Vernacular for Karachi

What do you think is vernacular for Karachi?

- Colonial architecture and Kharadar is probably the vernacular for Karachi. But I feel we don't have any vernacular left.

### Built Form History in Karachi

- Even in Lahore there is Colonial architecture.
- The decision making process about this type of built form has developed.
- I think the global buildings address a partial or marginal population.

### Lessons from Built Form History

- In Karachi, there is no history. We have the Colonial. Its not necessary to replicate the colonial form.
- I think the global buildings address a partial or marginal population.

### Modern Buildings and Byelaws

- Banks, some apartment buildings in Karachi.
- Our byelaws today are a reflection of the colonial byelaws.
- I don't think we are still stuck at the colonial times, our built forms have adopted to the context and have been modified to become something else.

### Current Challenges

- I think architecture is the response to these limitations. Its not a pure painti.
- Colonial architecture and Kharadar is probably the vernacular for Karachi. But I feel we don't have any vernacular left in Karachi.
- If Karachi is as diverse in its demography as it is then how could we think of a uniformity in our built form history?
Previously there was variety and diversity. But today the High end architecture has acquired a very uniform aesthetic. I feel that is very negative. For me most building represent what ASA (pvt) Ltd does, that is copied. If Karachi is as diverse in its demography as it is then how come the architecture is not reflecting that? For me the basic style is to be regional modern. It’s the new modernism. Its not post modernism. This is the regional version of the new modernism. For me there is a very universalizing character in the regional vocabulary. For me that seems to be very odd. For instance the wedding halls in Nazimabad had different aesthetics but not even they have simplified and have a modern look. Most of the better architecture has a modern movement vocabulary which is trickling down but not in a pure sense of modernism and it’s a very locally defined vocabulary. Fair faced, tones, c.c. tiles and wood. So its not completely modern but it does have a modern look in terms of simple lines and look but certainly not in terms of the function. So I would say it’s a local new modernism. I agree with it but I feel its not playful, diverse and experimental enough.

In our society also affects of industrialization have trickled down to the common people. For the masses the architecture is available to accept this new technology. For instance quite literally if we did not have computers, cranes and certain software we would not be able to produce certain type of buildings. We have to work with the global influences. Our media presents a certain image for the society and our clients get influenced by it. To deny them that global image would deny them justice. It is somebody’s dream that the media is projecting but that is seen as development. I am not saying we should be copy pasting here, but we should localize that image in our context and within our technological reality.

In my view you don’t need to define Pakistani architecture. Whatever you are doing is Pakistani. I don’t have a style per se, I design with consciousness. For me sensible architecture is what works. All well trained architect should be using principles to design sensibly. I don’t think there is a need to define Pakistani architecture as such. The question is ‘should architecture have political boundaries?’ We are a global society, it is reflected through our clothes, the technology we use, the cars we drive then why should we limit our architecture? Should I not be using materials coming from other parts of the world? For me the earth is the palette and I want to chose a material produced anywhere in the world as long as it is sustainable to do so. That is you disturb the earth the least and build something that does not affect the earth’s resources and energy. You can’t get away from globalization.

If you say there is nothing like Pakistani Architecture then in producing built form that belongs to a global world aren’t we losing touch with our context, society and traditions?

The tools an architect uses for designing are very important. For architects the tools are the materials and technology available. For instance quite literally if we did not have computers, cranes and certain software we would not be able to produce certain type of buildings. We have to work with the global influences. Our media presents a certain image for the society and our clients get influenced by it. To deny them that global image would deny them justice. It is somebody’s dream that the media is projecting but that is seen as development. I am not saying we should be copy pasting here, but we should localize that image in our context and within our technological reality.

When you introduce a new technology or a new material in a context you are actually contributing towards development. If we were to stick to traditional materials and technology we would still be building load bearing structures. But one must be careful in what technology is being introduced. It should be ensured that the infrastructure is available to accept this new technology. For instance, in Dubai the buildings are being planked with high technology and new materials, this is being determined by an industry present there. In our society also affects of industrialization have trickled down to the common man, for example everyone in our society owns a mobile phone now. If we were to close doors to globalization we would deny them this technology and the convenience it brings with it.

Globalization is also a reflection of power, consumerism and capitalism. Man’s greed increases when he has the power of money and he starts reaching beyond the local. The British did it in our context. We see buildings in Karachi, like the KMC building on MA Jinnah Road, where stone bought from Jodhpur is used as cladding. The concept is that a grand edifice must be clad in the grandest materials available. Architecture can sometimes be confusing because the materials and ideas not always stem from the local context. So is it not okay to use materials bought from Peshawar or other parts of the country. For me it is not important where the material came from, but God’s creation that I liked as a material and wanted to use in my architecture. Its different when we talk about mass produced products of industrialized society like the curtain wall. It is not one of a kind. Thus the decision behind its usage is based on different factors. Clients want a modern look and to achieve that we need to go to a modern material from an industrialized world.

So do you think the skyscraper as a typology fits in our context?

One must understand the origin of tall buildings. I must say I am lucky enough to have been part of the Sears Building in Chicago when it was being designed by Skidmore and was the tallest building of its time. Architecture has historically always responded to the demands of the elite, that is its intrinsic quality. I think architecture is more democratic now then it was ever before. The skyscraper started off as an expression of power of the Cooperation, the height was represented as power and control over the land. Man has always wanted to express this power through its creation that is why he is different from all other creations. The human being is of a fixed height yet he builds come the architecture is not reflecting that? For me the basic style is to be regional modern.

In the global paradigm how would you define Pakistani Architecture?

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When you introduce a new technology or a new material in a context you are actually contributing towards development. If we were to stick to traditional materials and technology we would still be building load bearing structures. But one must be careful in what technology is being introduced. It should be ensured that the infrastructure is available to accept this new technology. For instance, in Dubai the buildings are being planked with high technology and new materials, this is being determined by an industry present there. In our society also affects of industrialization have trickled down to the common man, for example everyone in our society owns a mobile phone now. If we were to close doors to globalization we would deny them this technology and the convenience it brings with it.

Globalization is also a reflection of power, consumerism and capitalism. Man’s greed increases when he has the power of money and he starts reaching beyond the local. The British did it in our context. We see buildings in Karachi, like the KMC building on MA Jinnah Road, where stone bought from Jodhpur is used as cladding. The concept is that a grand edifice must be clad in the grandest materials available. Architecture can sometimes be confusing because the materials and ideas not always stem from the local context. So is it not okay to use materials bought from Peshawar or other parts of the country. For me it is not important where the material came from, but God’s creation that I liked as a material and wanted to use in my architecture. Its different when we talk about mass produced products of industrialized society like the curtain wall. It is not one of a kind. Thus the decision behind its usage is based on different factors. Clients want a modern look and to achieve that we need to go to a modern material from an industrialized world.

So do you think the skyscraper as a typology fits in our context?

One must understand the origin of tall buildings. I must say I am lucky enough to have been part of the Sears Building in Chicago when it was being designed by Skidmore and was the tallest building of its time. Architecture has historically always responded to the demands of the elite, that is its intrinsic quality. I think architecture is more democratic now then it was ever before. The skyscraper started off as an expression of power of the Cooperation, the height was represented as power and control over the land. Man has always wanted to express this power through its creation that is why he is different from all other creations. The human being is of a fixed height yet he builds come the architecture is not reflecting that? For me the basic style is to be regional modern.

High rise buildings, especially apartments don’t suit our culture and environment. We need clothes lines to dry our laundry and in an apartment we don’t have space for it and all the laundry ends up on the front façade which is aesthetically poor. The reason for this type of development is that the city is sprawling and there is load on urbanization with no concept of sub urban city. Secondly lack of job, health and education facilities in the secondary cities attracts people to Karachi. We should learn from the good example of the west, like the Mass transit system in London and the connection with the sub urban development.

In my view you don’t need to define Pakistani architecture. Whatever you are doing is Pakistani. I don’t have a style per se, I design with consciousness. For me sensible architecture is what works.

The question is ‘should architecture have political boundaries?’ We are a global society, it is reflected through our clothes, the technology we use, the cars we drive then why should we limit our architecture?

For architecture to remain local we have to work with materials, technology and the global influence. To deny them that global image would deny them justice. It is somebody’s dream that the media is projecting but that is seen as development. I am not saying we should be copy pasting here, but we should localize that image in our context and within our technological reality.

When you introduce a new technology or a new material in a context you are actually contributing towards development.

Globalization is also a reflection of power, consumerism and capitalism.

Architecture has historically always responded to the demands of the elite, that is its intrinsic quality. I think architecture is more democratic now then it was ever before. The skyscraper started off as an expression of power of the Cooperation, the height was represented as power and control over the land.

There is also a very famous saying ‘think globally, act locally’. So the moral question is if you are being selfish and only thinking about ‘I, me, myself’ or are you thinking about the larger good.

High rise buildings, especially apartments don’t suit our culture and environment.
something that is 500 times his height that is the expression of power. The godly feeling of having control over such a massive structure is immense. When we talk about identity and architecture we must question if we are relating architecture to identity of Karachi, of Pakistan or of a global world. It is important to see where we see ourselves. Do we see ourselves as a Karachiite, as a Pakistani or as citizen of the global world. This discussion leads to the discussion on sustainability. As the saying goes, 'think about the world'. There is also a very famous saying 'think globally, act locally'. So the moral question is if you are being selfish and only thinking about 'I, me, myself' or are you thinking about the larger good.

- So how does one take design decisions related to global versus local architecture?
- Architecture and technology in general has a global twist now days as it is dependent on a global situation. But you can have a few musical notes but the way they are put together can vary greatly. That depends on the creativity of man. The concept of copying is a very easy one, these are people who have no creativity and take the easy approach. Unfortunately the clients also promote it. Every time the client goes out he/she comes back with an image that he/she wants to be copied here. The question is who are you judging, the architects, the architecture or the client. The situation needs to be looked at in perspective, the influences on it at that point in time and how does one measure needs to be decided. For instance, Prince Charles hates glass buildings but the argument given to him by the modernists was that these buildings merely reflect the traditional stone buildings. On the contrary I have heard ministers say 'you tell us what do you want to make Karachi, you want to make it like London, Paris or Dubai? Why are you trying to research something new? Just go ahead and do it.'

I don't see a difference between local and global built form. I think the only issue is how one deals with the question of class in the society. For some cities the primary focus is housing right whereas for other cities it can be the elite houses. Certain projects in Karachi portray a false dawn, as although Karachi has always been on the global image because of cotton and rice trade from the Indus River delta but its engagement with global capital is dubious because of security issues in the city.

Gener

I don't see a difference between local and global built form. I think the only issue is how one deals with the question of class in the society. For some cities the primary focus is housing right whereas for other cities it can be the elite houses. Certain projects in Karachi portray a false dawn, as although Karachi has always been on the global image because of cotton and rice trade from the Indus River delta but its engagement with global capital is dubious because of security issues in the city.

Information about

1. What evidence is there that contemporary built form is locally responsive in the context of Karachi?
2. What design values influence decisions taken in the construction of built form in the contemporary context of Karachi and how do these decisions address the concept of localness?
3. Information about how people engage with the built form
4. Information about any economic activity that is generated in specific built forms
5. How do professionals define the local vs. global areas/trends within their city?
## Appendix 8: Example of Analysis of Interview of Stakeholders: Old Town

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Interview No.</th>
<th>Environmental responsiveness</th>
<th>Economic Responsiveness</th>
<th>Social Responsiveness</th>
<th>Analysis</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>21</td>
<td>Within the building. We don’t have any parks or open spaces where we can socialize.</td>
<td>Most of the buildings have always been here. There is very little new construction activity taking place.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>22</td>
<td>Most of the buildings have been here as far back as I can remember. Some of the buildings however are endangered.</td>
<td>I used to stitch quilts before but have stopped doing that now.</td>
<td>Our apartments are facing each other so we talk to our neighbors through our windows or on the landings of the staircases.</td>
<td>Within the building. Kids also play within the building. The security issues are serious thus we don’t let our kids play in the streets. It is only on Sundays that the kids from the neighborhood get together to play some matches. Even the elderly stay indoors mostly.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>23</td>
<td>• Dargah Imam Shah Bukhari, • Quaid-e-AzamBurka Palace • Memon Guest House.</td>
<td></td>
<td>Previousl y the neighborhood was hustling with life—now there are barriers everywhere. There used to be platforms before which don’t exist now.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
## Meaning and usage related to 05 morphological elements

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Reference from Stakeholder Interview</th>
<th>Paths</th>
<th>Edges</th>
<th>Nodes</th>
<th>Districts</th>
<th>Landmarks</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>23</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>ChowkKharadar</td>
<td></td>
<td>Kharadar</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Police ChowkiChowk.</td>
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<td>Police New Qayum Road</td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Quaid-e-Azam Barka Palace.</td>
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<td></td>
<td>Qasim Manzil</td>
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<td>Memon Guest House,</td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Bukhari Masjid</td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Dargah Imam</td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Bukhari Shah.</td>
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<tr>
<td>24</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>KPT building,</td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Railway Godown</td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
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<td>Camric center.</td>
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<td>25</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>KPT building</td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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<td></td>
<td>EFU building</td>
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<td></td>
<td>State Life Building NO. 7.</td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Qamar House</td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Tower</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>State Bank Building</td>
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<td></td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Stock Exchange</td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Railway godown</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>26</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Customs building, jilani Center,</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Stock Exchange, Mercwether tower, Ghanta Ghar.</td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>KPT building</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Commercial building Qamar House Bolton Market</td>
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<td></td>
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<td></td>
<td>IU office</td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Garment Market</td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>II Chundrigarh Road</td>
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<td>27</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Dharam Shala, Allah Rakha Park,</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>28</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Noor Masjid, Kaghazi Bazaar, Alif</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Aqal Masjid, Kangawar Lane, Jamna</td>
<td></td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Daas Building No 09/166.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>29</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Jafri Chowk, Imam Burgha, Kharadar Bageecha</td>
<td></td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>30</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Imam Bargah and Memon Masjid</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>31</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Kharadar Thana, Tower Kharadar Katrak center, KPT building, Cargo railway station, stock exchange.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Appendix 9: Example of Analysis of Interview of Stakeholders: Kehkashan Clifton

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Interview No.</th>
<th>Environmental Responsiveness</th>
<th>Economic Responsiveness</th>
<th>Social Responsiveness</th>
<th>Analysis</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>51</td>
<td>Aunties Park, Karachi Grammar School, Jehangir Kothari Parade, Bilawal Chowrangi.</td>
<td>I would reduce the number of parks and provide entertainment areas for children and elders.</td>
<td>Tutions are taught and design practice is run from home.</td>
<td>Mostly at home or go to Malls and sometimes to parks.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>52</td>
<td>The railway line.</td>
<td>It is a one bedroom house but is sufficient for us. We are 5 kids and 2 adults living in that house. Yes it gets enough sunlight and ventilation.</td>
<td>I am happy with the house and the area. If I were to improve one thing about the locality it is the water supply. We have acute shortage of water.</td>
<td>We sit together on the railway line. The goods train passes from this line every hour. When the train is coming we move away. On weekends we go to the beach at sea view or go to Clifton. Within the house. My mother just goes to work and then she is mostly at home so if I want to be with her I sit at home.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>53</td>
<td>Karachi Grammar School, Bar B Q tonight, British consulate.</td>
<td>It is hot in the summers and cold in the winters because of unplanned extensions done to the structure.</td>
<td>Benazir park, Aunties park, Boat basin traffic circulation. Jehangir Kothari parade, Band Stand. 3. Old Clifton, Mohatta Palace.</td>
<td>Tutions are taught and design practice is run from home.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
### Meaning and usage related to 05 morphological elements

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
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<th>Edges</th>
<th>Nodes</th>
<th>Districts</th>
<th>Landmarks</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>51</td>
<td></td>
<td>Jehangir Kothari paprade, 2, Band Stand. 3. Old Clifton, Mohatta Palace.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Aunty's Park, Karachi Grammar School, Jehangir Kothari Parade, Bilawal Chowrangi</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>52</td>
<td></td>
<td>Aunty's Park, Karachi Grammar School, Jehangir Kothari Parade, Bilawal Chowrangi</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Jehangir Kothari paprade, 2, Band Stand. 3. Old Clifton, Mohatta Palace.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>53</td>
<td></td>
<td>The railway line.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>The railway line.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>54</td>
<td></td>
<td>P Zay ground, Mushatarq Park, Government School.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>1. Lakriki tall, 2. Mohammadi Masjid</td>
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<td>56</td>
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<td>57</td>
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<tr>
<td>58</td>
<td></td>
<td>The railway line.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>60</td>
<td></td>
<td>Ziauddin hospital, Government School</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Lakriki tall, 2. Church 3. Railway line</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>61</td>
<td></td>
<td>Bafi Building, Behbood Park</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Many tall buildings have been erected in this locality in which there is neither air nor sunlight. This needs to be fixed.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>62</td>
<td>Railway line</td>
<td>Shah Gee chowk, Zia uddin Hospital</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>The railway lines are the same</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>63</td>
<td></td>
<td>Sunrise building and Clifton beach</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Kala ground, Mariam High school</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>64</td>
<td></td>
<td>Rabbi building</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Clifton, Hyper star.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>65</td>
<td></td>
<td>Jirga. Kala ground or pila ground. Sunrise building.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

403
Appendix 10: NVIVO analysis of interviews
Localness in built form

Reference 1 - 6.31% Coverage

Locally proportion built form is that proceeds to the needs of the client; the contextual profile.
Appendix 11: Examples of Truck Art in Pakistan
Appendix 12: Example of mental maps as prepared in the field
Appendix 13: Moving Images of case study areas

For Appendix 13 please see CD accompanying bound copy. Not available in electronic version.